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PRIVATE LIFE

OF

THE PERSECUTED.

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EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY JAMES AUCHIE.

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PRIVATE LIFE

OF

THE PERSECUTED:

OR,

MEMOIRS OF THE FIRST YEARS

OF

JAMES NISBET,

ONE OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

"Others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment—being destitute, afflicted, tormented, (of whom the world was not worthy,) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."—HEB. xi, 36–38.

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M.DCCC.XXVII.

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BRITAN
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PREFACE.

THERE has of late been so much romance mixed up with the history of the persecutions in Scotland, that, in looking at the ideal pictures which have been drawn, we are apt to lose sight of the upright, unpretending originals. The following memoir is published, with the design of recalling back public attention to the plain sobriety of truth; to exhibit the men as they were in the realities of life; to show the principles upon which they acted, and the sources whence they derived both their constancy and comfort in suffering.

In taking a retrospective view of these times through the medium of a tale, where the circumstances, in general, are so arranged as to produce effect, the coarser traits of character are thrown into shade, if

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the writer wishes to interest us in the fate of the sufferers, or brought forward in caricature, if the object be to throw ridicule on the cause of the combatants. In either case the picture is imperfect; and how much soever the imagination may be entertained, the mind is little improved. In narratives written by the actors themselves, although, no doubt, much allowance must be made for the partialities of the party and the peculiarities of their situation, they describe scenes in which their whole soul was engaged; all of which were so interesting to them, that they would have deemed it superfluous to exaggerate; and being commonly intended only for private use, they had no temptation to embellish; while the importance which they conscientiously attached to the most minute transactions, is a pledge for the veracity of their statements. But what is, perhaps, of greatest interest, is the operation of their religious principles upon their minds in the trying situations in

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which they were placed: of this none but themselves could give a delineation; and in this we are to search for their motives, and for that steadiness of resolution which refused compromise with the oppressor, and to which, under God, their posterity is indebted for the rational freedom they now enjoy.

The author of the following memoir—son of John Nisbet of Hardhill, Ayrshire, of whom some account is given in the appendix—was born and educated among the wanderers; and gives a faithful exposition of their principles, practices, and way of life. He entered as a volunteer into the Cameronian regiment at the Revolution, and afterwards appears to have been employed in an official situation, under government, of some trust. He died at an advanced age.

The MS. volume from which it is extracted contains a number of pious meditations, and the Christian experience of the author in affliction, from which a few

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specimens only are given. To have printed all, or even a considerable part, would have swelled this publication to too great a size.

A connected view of the period of the persecution in Scotland, by way of introduction, has beeen deemed preferable to notes, both as being shorter and more adapted to illustrate, while it does not interrupt the narrative.

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INTRODUCTION.

Brief View of the State of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration till after the Revolution Settlement.

It has often been remarked, that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church; and, no doubt, God has often wonderfully overruled the sufferings of his people for the promotion of the gospel; but it is no less true, that this is not a natural effect, and that long-continued oppression has often succeeded in banishing even the form of religion from countries once highly favoured. At the first promulgation of Christianity, and at the Reformation, the persecution of those who asserted the truth, excited a spirit of inquiry which baffled the rage of the enemy, and promoted the cause it was meant to destroy. But, after flourishing churches had been established in

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Asia, they fell before the persecutor, and have lain waste for ages; and in France, and Spain, and the Netherlands, where the blood-hounds of Rome were let loose upon the protestants, they wofully accomplished their object; and these lands, once illuminated with the purest rays of heavenly light, sunk back into the grossest superstitions of popery.

That Scotland did not experience a similar fate, and that twenty-eight years of persecution did not extinguish the beams of true religion, with which she was blessed, must be attributed entirely to the especial favour of Jehovah, who preserved, by his power, a faithful remnant in the midst of general defection; and graciously interposed, by his providence, to rescue this nation in the hour of her extremity. Had the invasion of William in 1688 been delayed for but a few years, it is highly problematical whether it would ever have been attempted; or, if attempted, whether it might not have been as ruinous as it was happy; and have only served to rivet the chains on an enslaved herd, instead of effecting the deliverance of a depressed people. The Scottish nation was fast hastening to a state of sullen submission; almost all the nobility, gentry, and

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landholders, in order to preserve an inglorious, but peaceable, possession of their estates, had not only resigned to the crown every privilege their fathers had struggled for, but were actively supporting a race of clergy, whose preaching and practice were destructive alike of the religion, liberty, and morals of the country.

The excess of mischief prevented will be best estimated by a short review of the terrible ravagings of licientiousness, tyranny, and misery, which spread over the land during those years of wretchedness that preceded the Revolution; and the value of that small unshaken band, who, in the wildnesses and moors of their country, lifted up a standard against them, best understood by exhibiting the private lives of the persecuted, from their own artless diaries, written under circumstances which allowed no time for attention to the beauties of composition, and precluded all idea of their being intended either for public inspection or public applause.

In this introduction is given a brief sketch of that melancholy period from the accession of Charles II till the Revolution. The part which follows is the simple unvarnished story

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of one of the persecuted themselves, who was educated among the sufferers.

Immediately upon the death of the first Charles, the presbyterians in Scotland acknowledged Charles II as their king, and without delay invited him to their country to mount the throne; but they required from him security that he should not pursue the same line of conduct with his predecessors, which had involved the kingdom in distraction for nearly a century, and cost his own immediate parent his life. They required from him security that he would support the religious establishment as it stood: that he should not attempt to re-introduce PRELACY, which with so much difficulty they had just got quit of, and from which they had already suffered so much: they, in a word, required that he should sign the covenants, and put from him those profligate associates and irreligious companions, to whose counsels they attributed his opposition to the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom:* and, in return, they proffered their lives and estates in de-

* They were, in the language of the time, termed *Malignants*, and were of any religion, or no religion,

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fence of his constitutional rights. Charles accepted the conditions; and in the most solemn manner, before ever he set a foot on Scottish ground, repeatedly swore to respect and uphold the form of government then established in church and state; and promised to receive none into his confidence who had supported the measures that had desolated the country.

His arrival in Scotland, however, instead of producing unanimity, fostered dissension. That portion of the ministers who were most decidedly pious, and whose characters afterwards stood the test in the day of trial, had from the first been suspicious of the king, and wished to see some evidence of his sincerity before they trusted him. Instead of which, they had discovered his treachery to his vows even before he landed, in the commission he had given Montrose to levy war against the covenanters, and exact unconditional obedience from men, over whom he had promised only to exercise legal and limited sway; and, after he did land, they saw him

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just as suited; but they afterwards, in general, joined either the Episcopalian or Roman Catholic profession.

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surrounded with malignants, who promoted his pleasures, and monopolized his confidence. They were men of too much sagacity to be easily deceived, and less so when their suspicions had been previously awakened: they therefore, insisted upon his strictly observing the conditions he had sworn; and appointed him chaplains, who performed the worship of God daily in the court, and enforced decency, and a regular attendance on the public ordinances of religion. To these restraints the young king very unwillingly submitted; while the pious labours of the ministers furnished fruitful topics of ridicule to him and his favourite, the abandoned Duke of Buckingham, and necessarily estranged from him the affection and regard of men, whose good will, it is alleged by his apologists, he endeavoured to secure by his hypocrisy, but who would have been contented to have perceived in him any marks of common gratitude or common honesty.

When the disastrous battle of Dunbar, which Cromwell, by superior skill and discipline, gained over the covenanters, showed the extent and reality of their professions, Charles, with a cold-blooded heartlessness, made the loss of that murderous day a subject

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of mirth among his select companions, as if the penalty they paid for their unwise loyalty had been a matter of gratulation to the monarch in whose cause they suffered. But he saw in it a prospect of getting the malignants into power; and his own personal gratification was ever with him a ruling motive. The stricter of the ministers opposed this, as they perceived in it nothing but ruin to the country; for the majority of the malignants were not only an irreligious, but a vain, presumptuous, ignorant race of young men, as detestable in their principles as defective in their education. Being joined by some leading gentlemen, they protested against it, for which they were termed *Protestors*. A majority of ministers were, however, induced, greatly by the influence of the Marquis of Argyle, (for which he smarted in the sequel,) to pass, in a General Assembly which met at St. Andrew's, *resolutions*, from which they derived the name of *Resolutioners*, expressive of the propriety of admitting the malignants, upon their professions of repentance, and giving satisfaction to the church. The protestors repeated their protest, and declared themselves free of all the miseries that would follow; while the

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malignants flocked to give whatever satisfaction was required, and were received into the principal places of trust about the king and in the army. All that the protestors had forseen took place. The country was reduced into a province of the English commonwealth; and the protestors and resolutioners, who both deplored the distressing events, indulged in severe but useless recriminations, which were increased by an order from the government for the ministers to desist from praying for Charles Stuart as king of the Scots. With this the protestors gave ready compliance, considering him as in fact dethroned; but the others continued to pray for him as by right their king, till they were threatened with deprivation, when their consciences yielded to their necessities, and they consented to be silent.

During the time of Cromwell's power the Church of Scotland enjoyed great peace. All her courts, except General Assemblies, were allowed to be held; but, what was of far more importance, the ministers were, in general, more attentive to their spiritual avocations, the instruction of youth, the catechising and visiting their people; and several eminent divines of that day (and there were

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many) have left their testimony, that there appeared a success in their ministrations, and a blessing from on high attending them, gladdening to their hearts, and beyond what had ever been experienced in the country. In a few years a happy reformation was spread over the land, and particularly in the south and west, where a pious diligent ministry, and a regular, devout, and affectionate people, were the pleasing and efficient bonds of spiritual relationship throughout the community. "I have lived," says one of them, "many years in a parish, where I never heard one oath; and you might have ridden many miles before you heard any: also, you could not, for a great part of the country, have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped, by reading, singing, and public prayer. At the king's return, every parish had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a bible; yea, in most of the country, all the children of age could read the scriptures, and were provided of bibles, either by their parents or their ministers; every minister was a full professor of the reformed religion, according to the Westminster Confession of Faith; none of them might be scandalous in their conversation,

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or negligent in their office; and among them many were holy in their conversation and eminent in their gifts; the dispensation of the ministry being fallen from the noise of waters and sound of trumpets, to the melody of harpers; which is, alas! the last music in the banquet; nor did a minister satisfy himself except his ministry had the seal of a divine approbation, as might witness him to be really sent of God" *

Such was the picture of the Church of Scotland, drawn by a spectator of the scene, and himself inimical to the sway of the Protector. But soon the scene was sadly reversed; and the first act of the restored monarch went to stigmatize and overturn all that was harmonious, praiseworthy, or of good report in the church. In opposition to the most solemn vows of king, nobles, and clergy, and in the face of a royal letter from Charles himself to the contrary, *Prelacy* was introduced, and the government committed to traitors and apostates, Sharpe, who had betrayed the church, being made

* Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland.

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archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Middleton, who had repeatedly sworn the covenants, being appointed king's commissioner. All the ministers were ordered to submit to the bishops, or lose their livings; but, to the everlasting credit of the profession, three hundred chose rather to be turned pennyless from their homes, in the depth of a severe winter, (for the current year's stipend was also forfeited,) rather than violate their consciences by breaking their ordination vows.

The grief of the people, for the loss of such men, was sorely augmented by the character of the new incumbents, who were put in their places, "who" (according to the account of a writer and spectator, entirely episcopal,) "were generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers," he says, "I ever heard: they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious: they were a disgrace to their order and the sacred function; and were indeed the dregs and the refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who rose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despis-

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ed." * Yet, upon the preaching of wretches of this description, did the infamous government of that day enforce attendance, under the pains of confiscation of goods, imprisonment, public whipping, burning in the face, exile, or slavery in America and the West Indies. †

In communities called Christian, so long as Christianity is fashionable, multitudes assume the garb, who care little about the reality, of religion; and many, perhaps unconscious of deception, hear gladly, who, in times of persecution, fall away. But, however, from these causes, a nation may present the appearance of a religious people, the majority always have been enemies in their hearts to the cross of Christ; and although, when the righteous are in

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* Burnet's History of his Own Times.

† At this time the Buccaneers were triumphant in the West Indies; and it appears from the records of the Secretary's Office, Jamaica, that Sir Henry Morgan, one of the chiefs of these banditti, had become, after his settlement in that island, owner of these Scottish exiles. By will, he left to his legatees a considerable number of "white Christian servants."

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power, they may yield a forced obedience, no sooner is the restraint removed, than their enmity is discovered, and that uniformly in proportion to the hypocrisy they have previously displayed. Those who have followed the stream, and cared not much about the matter, easily glide into the channels their superiors mark out; and it is well if they do not become persecutors when they become conformists. Recollecting these facts, we will be astonished, not at the defection which took place in Scotland during the hot and fiery trial of a twenty-six years persecution, but at the numbers who endured to the end; and we will readily credit the extent of that profession of which the writings of the times speak so much, when we find that so many gave decided proofs of its influence.

At first, when the curates were forced upon the people, those who possessed least religion generally showed the fiercest zeal, and had recourse to the most outrageous proceedings: they assaulted the intruders with abusive language, and still more unwarrantable weapons, sticks, stones, mud, and other missiles; but when the fury wore off, and the curates were settled, and

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the danger of contending with the arm of power became more imminent, they returned to their parish-churches, and, but for other causes, would have sunk into apathy, and remained tranquil. The truly conscientious and well-informed presbyterians, who knew the value of the privileges of which they were deprived, when a gospel ministry was forcibly torn from them, and one the very opposite obtruded in its place, were perhaps occasionally carried away by the impulse of passion, and the influence of example, to join in those riotous, but natural, expressions of dislike; but they, as a party, contemptuously styled Whigs and Fanatics,* steadily pursued a course infinitely more galling to their oppressors: they bore testimony against their proceedings by the consistency of their Christian conduct; by refusing, to approve by their presence, the ministrations of the intruders; and by attending, wherever opportunities offered, the services of their late beloved pastors. The

* The terms were then synonymous. It is to be regretted, that, in our day, some who glory in the name Whig, would be as much ashamed as any old malignant of being thought a Saint, *i. e.* a modern fanatic.

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ministers, on the other hand, dared not lay down the sacred office. They considered that a necessity was laid upon them, and a woe pronounced if they preached not the gospel. When excluded from their pulpits, they opened the doors of their houses, and extended their family exercises by expounding the scriptures. Their old parishioners flocked to these meetings, till the houses became too small to contain them; and they betook themselves to the fields, where numerous crowds waited on their preaching. These meetings were called house and field conventicles; and attendance at them was, after a short time, punished with confiscation, banishment, and death.

To enforce the horrible mandates of that execrable government, a standing army, (a thing till then never known in Scotland,) was introduced, and the soldiery empowered to quarter upon, fine, torture, or imprison, all who were not regular church-attenders; and the satellites of episcopacy, the curates, acted throughout the country as "the accusers of the brethren." Enraged beyond measure at these worshipping assemblies, the prelates procured, not only that those who were themselves present at them should be punished,

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but landlords were made responsible for tenants, and tenants were fined for the nonconformity of landlords, husbands for wives, and parents for children. The foundation-stone of that fabric of despotism, which Charles proposed to rear, was the oath of allegiance, so jesuitically framed, as, without directly expressing, it could be easily interpreted to imply, an acknowledgment of the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. To this the presbyterians objected, because the leading truths, for which their forefathers had contended, were—that it was the prerogative of Christ alone, the great head, to enact laws for the government of his church, and that the sole administration of these laws was committed to the office-bearers thereof; and they considered the supremacy allowed to the king, by the episcopalians, as only a transference of the papacy from the Roman pontiff to the British monarch: professing entire subjection to the civil, they refused to own the spiritual power thus claimed for Charles. The covenants, *the great charters* of Scotland, for which all had professed a reverence perhaps too superstitious, were next annulled; and it was not only declared treason to own them, but even a capital offence not to dis-

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own them. A declaration was framed, embodying the oath, and a renunciation of the covenants; and every one who was accused of attending conventicles, but could clear himself of the fact, had this declaration presented to him, which if he refused to acknowledge or subscribe, was liable to the highest penalties for contumacy.

As many, even of those who were not truly pious, refused, from a sense of shame, or the influence of habit or education, at once to comply with the furious mandates of the privy-council, (of which the most active member was the primate Sharpe,) the plundering cruelties became almost universal; and a great spirit of discontent was excited throughout the country against the prelates, which threatened a political convulsion, when the sympathy of a few countrymen unfortunately led to the premature religious rising, put down at Rullion Green, in the Pentlands.

At that time it was customary almost for every Scottish peasant to carry arms; and a few countrymen, in rescuing a poor old man at Dalry, in Galloway, from the hands of some soldiers, who, besides robbing, were about to torture him, having wounded one and disarmed the rest, knowing they had to

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do with men who never forgave, to prevent the punishment they dreaded, formed the bold resolution of seizing the commanding officer by surprise, and dispersing the small scattered parties of their oppressors; to give to their country an opportunity, as in former and better times, of laying their complaints before the men in power, in such a manner as would compel attention, and procure a restoration of those religious privileges which had been so wantonly wrung from them, and a mitigation of the spiritual tyranny of the episcopalian zealots. They, accordingly, marched to Dumfries, and took Sir James Turner prisoner. But the most influential men of the district had been imprisoned; and the small band who assembled, after marching to the west, and renewing the covenant at Lanark, were broken by General Dalziel upon Rullion Green, having only been able to declare the wrongs of their country, and ineffectually assert their rights, or, in their own expressions, been honoured to bear a testimony to the oppressed cause and truth of God. In the whole of their proceedings no violence was used: not even the necessaries of life were extorted from the counties through which they passed; and the brave stand they made for half a day a-

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gainst the king's troops, was, in the strictest sense of the word, defensive, as was fully evinced by the treatment of the prisoners, who, though they had surrendered upon a promise of quarter, were barbarously immolated at the shrine of prelacy; yet the executions which followed were furious and sanguinary, and the persecution continued with renewed vigour.

Dalziel was sent to the west, and exercised his commission in a manner so barbarous, that his name is still infamous in the traditions of the district; while every varied mode of oppression was resorted to, which could satisfy the avarice or satiate the revenge of the unprincipled renegadoes who misgoverned and abused unhappy Scotland. Nor did the wretched sovereign (for he was truly so *) conduct his foreign affairs much more

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* The Diary of Samuel Pepy's, Esquire, Secretary of the Admiralty, just published, exhibits a picture of the "Merry Monarch," which more than justifies the very worst character the bitterest Whig ever drew of Charles, and shows him to have been, indeed, more truly wretched even in this life, and in his gayest moments, than any of those he chased upon the mountains, or forced to flee to the caves and dens of the earth. And, O! how different in point of moral grandeur!

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honourably than his Scottish: but the disasters his mismanagement of the Dutch war occasioned procured some temporary relief for the Whigs. Lauderdale had now been intrusted with the administration; and he, from motives of personal ambition and policy, procured from the king a first and second indulgence, by which the ejected ministers were to be permitted to preach in certain parishes allotted to them, some of them their own, from which they had been thrust out, but requiring them to have no sermon except in church, to live upon friendly terms with their neighbouring curates; to admit none of their hearers to their churches nor communion; to sit in courts with the bishops; not to leave their parishes without their leave, and to keep the 29th of May, the anniversary of his majesty's birth and restoration, as a holiday, with several other vexatious stipulations.

Hitherto the persecuted had been united among themselves: they had lamented the wôful thinning that times of temptation had made in the ranks of professors; and the defection of some, who, most forward and active in the fair day of the church, when the clouds returned, sought to destroy the faith they once so fervently preached; but now

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the most severe of all, was to separate from brethren, whose piety they dared not doubt, but whose views they could not embrace, and whose failings they felt themselves called upon to bewail and reprove; nor was the breach ever healed. Those who accepted the indulgence, alleged that their acceptance of permission to preach did not imply an approval of the power which laid them aside, but only the improvement of an opportunity afforded them in providence of exercising their ministry, whatever might be the magistrate's intention in granting it. They who refused asserted, that as this permission flowed from the king's supremacy, and was clogged with so many conditions, acceptance reflected dishonour upon Jesus Christ, the king and head of his church, as it practically declared that they did not hold their ministry wholly from him, but either from the magistrate alone, or in conjunction with Christ; that they thereby concurred in limitations respecting the dispensation of spiritual ordinances not prescribed by Christ himself, nor by any ministerial power subordinate to him: that they thus strengthened the hands of prelatists, and justified them in accepting prelacy from the same

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source; and that it would tempt posterity to submit to magistrates' imposition of ministers, in what manner, and under what restrictions, they pleased. From this date, the *outed* ministers (as those who had been driven from their parishes were called) became distinguished into Indulged and Non-indulged; but the indulged lost the affections of the people, and their ministrations were nearly as much deserted as those of the curates; while the others, who would not burthen their consciences by a multiplicity of oaths or stipulations, continued to preach in the fields, where conventicles increased, and the gospel was accompanied with much success. The most eminent of these preachers were Messrs. Blackader, Welsh, Semple, Arnot, and Dickson; and some of the communions, which were held in the open air, were remarkably countenanced of God, not only for the edification of his saints, but for the conversion of the careless.

But, in the wild border districts, in the Merse, Annandale, and Nithsdale, the reformation among the inhabitants was most remarkable; and the labours of the persecuted ministers accomplished what the laws had never been able to effect,—they extirpated a

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community of thieves. "I have not language," says Shields, speaking of this period, "to lay out the inexpressible glory of that day; but I will make bold to say, that I doubt if there ever were greater days of the Son of Man upon earth since the Apostolic times, than we enjoyed for the space of seven years at that time." The rage of the prelates increased in proportion; and the severities of the privy-council were stimulated by the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God Primate and Privy-councillor Sharpe. The fines levied were enormous; garrisons were established throughout the west and south; the soldiers were increased, the jails were filled, the ministers outlawed; and almost an hundred gentlemen and ladies were intercommuned, *i. e.* declared rebels, and their nearest and dearest relatives forbid to hold any communication, to speak with, or write to them, or even to save them from starvation, under pain of being themselves treated as traitors! All proving ineffectual, a body of eight thousand savages from the mountains were brought into the western districts, where they spread desolation for some months, as if in an enemy's country, and then returned to their native hills, laden

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with the plunder of the innoffensive inhabitants, whose terrible crime was, they would not turn episcopalians.

The persecuted were, however, still to experience more multiplied affliction from new divisions. In order to support the soldiers who were persecuting them, a convention of estates imposed a cess of £360,000 yearly. This some of the ministers were inclined to submit to, thinking it lawful, even as Christ paid tribute to Cæsar, for them to pay tribute to their rulers, however wicked. Others asserted, that no tax could be levied in Scotland but by the authority of a *free* convention, which this was not; and that however lawful to pay tribute to heathen magistrates for the support of civil power, it was different to pay a contribution to a tyrannical papist, for the express purpose of putting down the liberties of the country and the gospel of Christ. Nor was the question about cess a new cause of dissension only among the Whigs, but a new source of suffering to a nation already severely spoiled; and the levying it was intrusted to men who used the utmost rigour. Every year brought some fresh accession of misery; for it is the nature of tyranny always to grow worse; and there

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seemed no prospect of deliverance, when a few of the gentlemen of Fife, who had been most severely harassed, determined to inflict some exemplary chastisement on one Carmichael, an agent of Sharpe's, and one of the most active and brutal of their oppressors. Having missed him, for whom they had laid wait on Magus-Moor, when they were about to separate, they were informed that the Archbishop himself was at Ceres, on his way home to St. Andrew's; and, considering the intimation as providential, that he, whom they considered as the author of all the misery of the land, thus delivered into their power, should suffer from their hands the righteous punishment due his crimes, which it was in vain to expect from public justice, they obeyed the impulse, and put him to death.

Judging by Christian principles, no case can occur of persecution for conscience sake, in which the sufferer is allowed to avenge himself. Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I will repay. But, at that time, the civil and religious establishments of Scotland were so much interwoven, that, in the then state of society, it was impossible to separate them; to exercise spiritual, without practising political

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tyranny, or to contend for natural rights, without involving religious questions. Many, therefore, who would not have committed the act, nor would, perhaps, have previously approved it, yet hesitated about directly condemning it after it was done; and numbers, when the alternative was given them, whether they would own Archbishop Sharpe's death murder, preferred being murdered themselves.

An unfortunate coincidence of time connected this transaction with the general cause of the covenanters and the rising at Bothwell. Sharpe's last deed had been to procure a proclamation, calling upon all the judges and officers of the army to enforce the sanguinary laws against conventicles, to which the people, in consequence of their ministers being denounced traitors, had of late been accustomed to come armed, on purpose to protect them; and, after his death, this proclamation was rigorously enforced, as the dying bequest of the martyred prelate, accompanied with corresponding measures of severity. The persecuted, in return, published a testimony against the tyranny and apostacy of their rulers, and burned at the Cross of Rutherglen the acts of Parliament

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which had overturned the work of reformation, upon May 29, 1679, the anniversary thanksgiving for Charles' restoration.

Graham of Claverhouse, whose cold-blooded murders have covered his memory with indelible contempt, hearing of this affair, and desirous of distinguishing himself, marched with some troops in that direction; and having seized Mr. John King, minister, and about fourteen unarmed country men, tied them two and two together, and proceeded, driving them before him, to disperse a field-meeting, assembled for public worship at Louden Hill, on the Sabbath following; but the armed men of the congregation standing upon their defence, the soldiers were repulsed at Drumclog with considerable loss, and Graham owed his personal safety to the fleetness of his horse.

On returning from pursuit, the first question among the victors was, Whether to disperse, or remain together for mutual defence? Necessity pointed out the last as the only probable means of safety; and their prospects never were fairer, but for that spirit of division which the indulgence and the cess had created, and which was now increased by another topic,—the duty of acknow-

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ledging as king a man who had so notoriously broken every engagement with his people as Charles had done; who, instead of promoting religion and reformation, was himself the pattern of vice and immorality, a papist at best, if not an atheist. While these divisions ran high, the Duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, approached with an army; and a rout, rather than a battle, took place at Bothwell Bridge, where the persecuted lost at once four hundred killed, and nearly twelve hundred prisoners. Driven like cattle to Edinburgh, the survivors were kept, without shelter or covering, for months in the Greyfriars Church-yard, exposed to the cold and rain, robbed of their clothes, and deprived of almost the very necessaries of life, till, through the humane endeavours of Monmouth, a bond of peace was offered them, which, by its insidious manner of wording, became another source of difference; the subscribers acknowledging Bothwell insurrection as rebellion, engaged never again to take arms against the king, and, by implication, disavowed the doctrine of self-defence; yet the majority subscribed it, notwithstanding their scruples; and the faithless crew in power rewarded their compliance by banish-

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ing them almost indiscriminately to the plantations; but the vessel was shipwrecked in Orkney, and the greater number perished in the waves.

About the same time, the indulged ministers were required to take a bond, obliging themselves to live peaceably, to refrain from preaching against the defections of the times, and to present themselves, when called before the privy-council, under a penalty of six thousand merks Scots, for which they were to find security,—whence this last indulgence got the name of the *banded* indulgence. As under the terms, living peaceably, was understood a disapproval of all field-meetings, and what the government chose to call irregularities, among which were comprised almost every essential of a free ministry, those of the persecuted who had constantly contended for the supreme kingship of Christ in his church, opposed this new imposition as sinful, scandalous, and inconvenient; yet, at a meeting of a number of ministers, those additional oaths were acceded to by many who had hitherto resisted all former obligations, but who now, to avoid the imputation of rebellion, or worn out with protracted suffering, took advantage of the precarious

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freedom; which, however, clogged as it was, was soon recalled, though not before it had occasioned an irreparable breach between many of the best and purest friends of presbytery and of the gospel.

From this date, 1679-80, the situation of the persecuted became deplorable, by the mutual recriminations of the sufferers themselves, the one party reproaching the other for abandoning the cause for which they had hitherto so valiantly contended; while they, in return, reproached their brethren for rendering it hopeless by their unnecessary scruples. The people, bewildered with these complicated contentions, knew not what to do; but still the hearts of many among them were with the minority of their ministers, who determined to hold fast their covenant-engagements; and, at their urgent desire, Messrs. Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill returned from Holland, whither they had fled after the defeat at Bothwell, and resumed their labour in the fields, having been encouraged by the exiled ministers to bear an unfettered testimony in defence of the liberty and religion of their country. The measures of their rulers were driving multitudes to the moors and wilds of Scotland, placing them not only

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without the protection of the law, but beyond the common charities of life or ties of relationship. Women were threatened and tortured to make them disclose the retreats of their husbands and children, to discover the hiding-places of their parents.* The very first bonds of society were ruptured, and government, instead of a blessing, had become a curse. What wonder was it, then, that the wanderers should disown a tyranny by which they were proscribed, and refuse to acknowledge as king a man who had broken his coronation-oath, and trampled upon the settled constitution of the land, the sole object of whose reign was the subversion of every principle and purpose for which a government is established? A paper, embodying these sentiments in the form of a covenant, drawn up probably by Mr. Cargill, was found on the body of a Mr. Hall, killed at Queensferry, in his company; and afterwards a more explicit declaration was affixed to Sanquhar cross, disclaiming all allegiance to Charles Stuart, declaring war against him as a tyrant, and protesting against the succes-

* For a remarkable instance of this, *vide* page 70.

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sion of the Duke of York to the crown. The policy of this proceeding may be doubted; but the justice of the principles upon which these good men, now distinguished by the name of Cameronians, acted, was acknowledged and ratified in Parliament at the Revolution, about eight years after, by many of the very rulers who, at that period, were the most active agents in hunting down their persons and calumniating their characters! Meanwhile, it rendered their enemies more furious than ever, and alienated all who were faint-hearted or lukewarm, who found an apology for their own aversion to face the perils of the time, in the often-repeated sarcasm of "things being carried to unwarrantable heights."

Richard Cameron sealed his testimony with his blood at Airs-moss, where he fell, resolutely defending himself in a sharp encounter with an enemy four times the number of the wanderers. Cargill, deprived of his faithful colleague, now stood alone, the unshaken representative of the reformation of 1639; and, in consonance with his professed principles, proceeded to pronounce the highest church censures on the chief of those, who, having sworn to observe, now apostatized,

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rebelled against, mocked, despised, and defied their covenant obligations. Accordingly, at Torwood, about the end of September 1680, after a sermon, upon Ezek. xxi, 25–27. "And thou, profane wicked prince of Israel, whose day is come," &c. he excommunicated the king, the Duke of Lauderdale, Rothes, Sir George M'Kenzie, king's advocate, and several other ci-devant eminent and zealous covenanters. The dark, fierce, and unbroken spirit of Lauderdale was infuriated; but others of the less hardened apostates acknowledged, in the hour of sickness, and on the bed of death, that this solemn act left an arrow in their conscience, which all the buffoonery and revelling of their dissipated compeers had not been able to extract. Nor were the wanderers left untried by heresy: a wild sect sprung up, headed by one John Gib, called the *Sweet Singers*, who betook themselves to unfrequented places, fasted long, sung psalms constantly, and pretended to wonderful raptures; disowned all communion with every other party but their own, and at length, burned the Bible and Confession of Faith.—Their numbers never amounted to more than thirty; but their extravagancies were charged upon the whole of the wanderers, notwith-

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standing they were the only efficacious opponents those deluded people ever had, and the only persons who seriously attempted to reclaim them.

Next year, 1681, the Duke of York came to Scotland, and the persecution waxed hotter than ever. Among others, Mr. Cargill received the crown of martyrdom; and the wanderers were left scattered on the mountains, as sheep without a shepherd.—The Parliament, which was held by James, was as compliant to the despotical desires of the royal brothers as any body of men could be. Among other services, they voted, as a test, an oath, containing, at once, an acknowledgment of the propriety of resistance and of passive obedience, of the sole headship of Christ, and of the king's absolute supremacy; in whole so contradictory, that even York himself said no honest man could take it: yet for a mere explanation, for simply affirming that he took the oath, in so far as it was consistent with itself and the protestant religion, the Earl of Argyle was condemned to death as a traitor! On the day before the Parliament met, Mr. Cargill suffered; and with him, for a while, ceased all field-preaching. Then came the hour of the persecuted wanderers'

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vexation, trouble, and dimness of anguish, wherein whoso looked to the land could see nothing but darkness and sorrow, and the light darkened in the heavens thereof, wherein neither sun nor star appeared for many days. But they firmly adhered to the binding obligation of the covenants, while the fatal issue of the rising at Bothwell terrified great numbers into compliances, which they had hitherto deemed sinful; and these numerous compliances exasperated the leaders of the episcopalian faction to measures of more unrelenting barbarity against the remnant who still held fast their integrity.

Deprived of their teachers, the persecuted wanderers, who dared not countenance or encourage the ministrations of those who owned, in any shape, the spiritual supremacy of the king, or supported the usurped dominion of the prelates, supplied the lack of public ordinances by fellowship-meetings, in which they prayed, read the scriptures, and mutually exhorted each other; and while thus promoting their personal piety, they kept alive their zeal for the testimony for which the previous martyrs had laid down their lives, by corresponding together in *general meetings*. In these meetings, which continued from 1681 till

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after the Revolution, their public testimonies were framed; and they provided for the education of gospel preachers in a university in Holland, who were also ordained by the presbyterians in that country, against whom they had no objections, either as lukewarm, or apostates from the convenanted work of reformation; but they had to wait for some years till the youths they sent were ready to return. Meanwhile, they drew up a declaration, which they published at Lanark, in which they disowned the authority of Charles, for his dissolving, at one blow, the constitution in church and state, and involving his whole officers, as well as himself, in perjury,—for obtruding his will as the law, and exalting himself above all law, human and divine,—for persecuting God's saints,—for dilapidating the revenues of the crown to keep up a *brothel* rather than a court,—and for installing a popish successor, as bad, if not worse, than himself. To this declaration the faction replied, by proscribing almost the whole country, and authorizing an indiscriminate massacre, not only of those who had any hand in the act, but of all who, when questioned about it, would not instantly disclaim it, whether they had ever heard of it before

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or not. The indulged and the moderate, who would not jeopard their lives in the high places of the field in times of such astounding terror, inveighed bitterly against a deed, which, complicated and heart-rending, but not overwhelming, distress, had wrung from the undismayed wanderers; and the bitter reproaches of their brethren were added to their other sufferings.

When the gloom was at the deepest, James Renwick arrived, from the United Provinces, to bear the standard of his Master, and carry on the testimony against all the opposition of open enemies and backsliding professors, —an undertaking, remarks a writer of these times, more desperate-like than one Athanasius against a whole world. Yet, against the rage of ravening enemies, hunting and pursuing after him, through all the towns, villages, cottages, woods, moors and mosses, and mountains of the country, and against all the scourge of tongues, obloquies, and cruel mockings of incensed professors, he was helped to prosecute, by many weary traversings through the deserts, night and day, preaching and catechising, most frequently in the cold winter nights, in the open fields, till, by the blessing of God, not

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only were the faithful encouraged and confirmed, but their numbers much increased by the formation of new fellowships, and the enlargement of the settled societies. But then the rage of the persecutors began to flame more furiously than ever; the foot soldiers and dragoons, already fleshed in the chase of the persecuted, were ordered afresh to scent out, and drag them from their dens and hiding-places, in the wildest glens and remotest recesses of the wilderness, with commission "to kill, slay, hang, drown, and destroy," at their own pleasure, such as they should apprehend; and the country was commanded to aid and assist them in raising the *hue* and *cry* after the wanderers, and not to reset, supply, or correspond with them in any manner, under pain of being liable to the same punishment! while spies and apostates were hired and rewarded for tracking the footsteps, and discovering the haunts of those men whose doom was sealed if they could only be discovered returning from hearing a sermon, or found guilty of the crime of carrying a bible. These years were emphatically named by the country people, *killing time;* and Graham of Claverhouse, Johnston of Wester-raw, Grierson of Lag,

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and Irvine of Bonshaw, stand pillored in their bloody annals as the most unfeeling of the butchers. It was during these times that John Nisbet of Hardhill, whose son's memoirs form the principal part of the following pages, was executed; and they lasted with little variation during the whole remainder of Charles's reign, and for part of the two first years of that of James.

Charles died in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church, 1685; and James, who openly professed that faith, would not, on his accession, take the coronation oath of Scotland; on which the persecuted wanderers instantly declared him unfit to reign; and the Convention-parliament, at the Revolution, legalised the declaration, by adopting its grounds as reasons for declaring the crown forfeited. That same year the Earl of Argyle landed in the west, to attempt the deliverance of Scotland; but his ill-fated expedition was soon dispersed, and himself taken and executed. With him the wanderers, although they wished him success, could not join, as they considered his declaration not sufficiently explicit upon the points for which they were contending, and not decided enough against an association in

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power with the instruments of the atrocious tyranny under which they were suffering. The king, therefore, when relaxing his severity towards the indulged and other presbyterians, on purpose to introduce Roman Catholic emancipation, manifested uniformly the most implacable hatred towards this portion of the profession; while, unfortunately, about the same time, false brethren rose up among themselves, who stirred up strife and contention, and, by their injurious reports, estranged good men from each other; and among the rest the venerable Peden from Mr. Renwick, whose misconceptions Mr. Renwick had only the satisfaction of removing in the last visit he paid to his fellow-labourer on his death-bed.

Soon after his accession, James, preparatory to admitting the Roman Catholics into power, granted, by virtue of his absolute prerogative, a full indulgence to all the presbyterians to exercise their functions, except the field-preachers. With this nearly the whole complied. The wanderers alone refused: they would receive no favour from a papist usurping the prerogative of Christ, and who, by this false and insidious show of liberality towards those of another religion,

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was seeking to establish the intolerant supremacy of his own. In consequence, the enmity of their persecutors waxed stronger against them and their ministers. A reward of £100 sterling was offered to any who would bring in Mr. Renwick dead or alive; and the military massacres were continued.

"In this short space," says Shields, "there were more butchered and slaughtered in the fields, without any shadow of law, of trial, or sentence, than in all the former tyrant's reign. They were murdered, without time given to deliberate upon death, or space to conclude their prayers; but either, in the instant they were praying, they were shot to death, or, surprised in their caves, were there murdered without any grant of prayer at all; yea, many of them murdered, without taking notice of any thing to be laid against them, according to the worst of their own laws, but slain and cut off, without any pity, when they were found at their labour in the field, or travelling upon the road. Such as were prisoners, and condemned for refusing to take the oath of abjuration, were equally surprised with their execution, being left in suspense whether sentence should or should not be carried into effect, as if there had

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been a design to destroy both soul and body. Within these two years several shipfuls of honest and conscientious sufferers were sent (the men after having their ears cropt, and the women their faces branded with hot irons) to Jamaica, New Jersey, and Barbadoes,—so crowded in the holds, that many died in the transportation.

"Multitudes, during the same time, thronged into prisons, had neither room to lie nor sit, particularly in Dunnotar Castle, where, after a cruel travel from Edinburgh on foot, men and women, several of them infirm and decrepit through age, and others worn out through disease, were thrust into an old ruinous rusty house, and shut up under ground in vaults, eighty in a room, of both sexes, without air or ease, without space either to lie or walk, and without any comfort save what they had from heaven: and by a diabolical refinement of cruelty, they sometimes exactly observed that device of the Spanish inquisition, in suborning and sending spies among them, under the disguise and show of prisoners, to search and find out their minds, who would outstrip all in an hypocritical zeal, thereby to extort and draw forth words from the most wary, which

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might be brought in judgment against them."

At length, his allotted short, but bright, course being run, Renwick fell into the hands of his enemies. He was the last who suffered martyrdom in Scotland, the year of his death being the year in which his country received freedom, a year much to be remembered,—ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHT.

Mr. Linning, also ordained in Holland, succeeded Mr. Renwick; but dissension was still the root of bitterness, which sprung up and shed its baneful influence, even when a change of government allowed the persecuted to meet without any to make them afraid. They renewed the covenant, and raised a regiment under Lord Angus, which served with distinguished courage in the short disturbance in which Claverhouse, created by James Viscount Dundee, met a merited death while attempting to revive the abhorred tyranny; but in none of these transactions were they unanimous; and that party of them which wished to restore the constitution in church and state, as settled and ratified in 1639, were left in a minority, who seceded from the revolution-church after its establishment,

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and whose successors to this day, under the name of Cameronians, contend for the purity of the covenanted reformation. But as human kind, until constituted other than they now are, must always be liable to difference of opinion, it cannot cease to be matter of gratitude to the Great Ruler of events, that, at the happy revolution, no church was established, however pure it might have been, with power to coerce the conscience, or to enforce uniformity throughout the land to any particular ecclesiastical polity.

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PRIVATE LIFE

OF

THE PERSECUTED.

THAT there is an over-ruling providence of God, whereby he governeth the world, ruleth and over-ruleth all his creatures, and all their actions, even to the minutest thing that can fall out, is convincingly and undeniably made known from the whole of natural and revealed religion and daily experience: that God, in the conduct of his divine providence, doth carefully watch over all causes and instruments, even the most powerful of them, so that it is impossible for them to bring any thing to the birth but what has been wisely proposed, and unalterably determined, in his eternal counsels: and, however providences, as to my thinking, are like chequer-work, made up of blacks and whites, and seeming contraries; yet there is a wheel within a

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wheel, that shall make all issue and terminate in the end, according to his sovereign divine and eternal pleasure, in the exact fulfilling of all his promises to his church and people, and his threatenings against all his enemies. Come, then, O my soul, and be sweetly and deeply impressed with a due and becoming sense of his mercy and goodness exercised towards me, both in a way seen and unseen, expected and enjoyed, so as ever to sing in the midst of the furnace, that the mercy of the Lord endureth for ever. Amen.

The first passage of divine providence that I record exercised towards me is, I was born in the month of February 1667, of parents both of them really and eminently religious; but the times were extremely unhappy, because of an illegal, tyrannical, prelatical, persecution begun five years before, and keenly carried on by King Charles II, Middleton, and Lauderdale, and treacherous Bishop Sharp, and many other of their perfidious accomplices. Because of which, though my parents were persons of considerable worldly substance, yet they could not conveniently get the benefit of school education for their children; and so I got little or none, but what I acquired at my own hand when un-

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der my after hidings; for, before I was born, my father with others being attacked by the enemy at Pentland Hills in 1666, when they were standing up in defence of the gospel, and were by the enemy routed and many of them slain, there my father received several wounds; but lying close among the dead till night, he, with great difficulty, got off with life. The enemy came to his house in search of him; but they missing him, they held a drawn sword to my mother's breast, who had me in her belly, threatening to run her through unless she would discover her husband. She, weeping, told them, that for any thing she knew he was killed, for she had heard that it was so. They took what made for them in the house, and went away for that time. But some days after, they, getting notice that he was still alive, returned with greater fury than before, and threatened my mother with present death, first with a drawn sword at her breast, and also with a bended pistol, and, contrary to all law divine and human, they dragged her alongst with them, with a burning candle in her hand, through all the rooms in the main-house, and then through all the office-houses, they still raging at her, and threatening her

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with their drawn swords and bended pistols; but, after all their searching, they, missing my father, beat the servants to tell where my father was, and to strike the greater terror on my mother to tell where he was; but she neither would nor could. Then they took a young man, called David Findlay, away with them to where their chief commander was, called General Thomas Dalziell, who caused the said David Findlay to be shot to death in less than half an hour's warning; and he caused carry away all my father's stock of moveable effects, which was considerably great; and for half a year after, there was seldom a day ever passed but they were at the house, either in the night or in the day, in search of my father; but the Lord still preserved him from their hands.

From this tragical story I remark, the kind providential care and infinite goodness of God exercised towards me, who was then in my mother's womb, and she within ten weeks of her time to be delivered; yet, notwithstanding of all these terrifying affrights and causes of grief and sorrow that she met with, yet she did not miscarry, but brought me forth at the full time, as lively, healthful, and pleasant, as any child could be; and I

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had always less sickness, and less bodily trouble nor any of my mother's children. My father, mother, and all others concerned, could not but take special notice of God's watchful providence which he exercised towards me, both in the womb and after I was born, so that I may say with David, Ps. cxxxix, that I was both wonderfully made, and wonderfully preserved; and, therefore, I have good ground to allude to what is recorded, Ps. xxii, 9, 10, and to pray with David, Ps. lxxi, 5, 6, 9, for thou art my hope, O Lord God: thou art my trust from my youth: by thee I have been holden up from the womb: thou art he that took me out of my mother's bowels: my praise shall be continually of thee: O cast me not off in the time of old age: forsake me not when my strength faileth. I bless the Lord, because his mercy endureth for ever.

When I was three years old I fell into a pond of nasty water, where I had certainly perished, had it not been the kind providence of God, who is never at a loss to find instruments when he hath any work, either of mercy or judgment to work; for my sister, who was two years older, coming to the place, and seeing me sink in the water,

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cried out; and when I came floating above the water, my mother took hold of me and drew me forth; and, turning my head downwards, I revoked a great deal of nasty water out at my mouth; and I heard them tell afterwards, that I was nothing the worse, neither lay I one hour sick on that account. O my soul! bless and praise the Lord for his sparing and preventing mercy, for he is God, even the most high God, that performeth all things for me, Ps. lvii, 2.

When I was five years of age, it pleased the Lord to give me some warm awakenings anent something that was more momentous, and of a greater concern, than only to live, to eat, drink, and sleep; and that there was something after time to be sought after to be enjoyed, though, alas! I knew little what the nature thereof was. The occasioning of my awakening was this.—As I was returning from the church-yard, (where they had been burying my mother's mother,) with a good man, called George Woodburn, who all the way homeward was exercised with his hands and eyes often lifted up, and his lips often moving, which sight created a warmth upon my spirit, and made me think that there was some better thing to be exercised with and

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earnestly sought after; and so I began to be a volunteer in prayer, and also to ask some questions at my mother and other friends. From this I remark, the dreadful insensibility that sin has sunk me into; for though I had all the advantages of pious example and instruction that one of my years was capable of, yet I do not remember that ever I had before this one serious thought, or the least engaging concern about the mystery of religion.—The utter inability that sin has sunk me into; for though this warm awakening concern was such that I could never altogether forget it, yet I was never able to move one step in my spiritual progress, but when so influenced as aforesaid, either by providence or word and spirit of God.—The great advantage that is to be had by keeping with good company, for I have often reaped much advantage by it.—The great loss and disadvantage that is sustained by being with ill company, which I have cause to lament: But, O! glory to God in Christ, and the riches of his free grace, who pities and plucks burning brands out of the midst of the fire, and manifests himself to be the Lord God, gracious and compassionate, by setting open

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the two-leaved gates of grace and redeeming love.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth years of my age, original indwelling sin bore very hard and violent upon me, to the actual commission of sin, yea every sin that that age could be capable of; for, alas! notwithstanding of my former awakenings, I was not acquaint with the secret distempers, and those inward windings and turnings of my deceitful heart, neither with those wiles, depths, and devices of Satan, and my own light and carnal spirit. But blessed be the Lord for ever, for restraining grace and paternal rebukes. Also, during these three years I had now and then many heart-meltings, at which times, after my ignorant manner, I essayed to give up myself to the Lord to be his servant; but, alas! often indwelling sin deadened my heart and cooled my affections very much; yet the Lord again and again put always new work in my hand: Sometimes by convictions, and impressions on my mind: Sometimes by my parents counsels and reproofs; and sometimes by providences. From this I remark,—the woful bent and propensity of heart and nature to sin, so that now I was a very servant to sin. This I speak

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and write to my shame, and for my continual humiliation.—Glory to God! who ever denied me success in sin, but ever continued to be a reprover to me; and if it had not been so, I would undoubtedly have been ruined, if I had been left to follow the cursed bent and sinful inclination of my own heart. Rich grace how free and sovereign is it! Bless the Lord O my soul! because his mercy endureth for ever. So far as I can remember, the war and conflict betwixt the flesh and the spirit was now begun, which did and does continue to the making me cry out, O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death, Rom. vii, 24: but I thank God for Jesus Christ.

In the year 1678, when going in my ninth year of age, there was a great host of Highlanders came down in the middle of the winter to the western shires of Scotland; the shire of Ayr was the centre of their encampment or cantooning, where they pillaged, plundered, thieved, and robbed night and day; even the Lord's day they regarded as little as any other. At their first coming, four of them came to my father's house, who was overseeing the making of his own malt.

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They told him they were come to make the whig (so they termed the presbyterians) to take with God and the king: this they repeated again and again, and pointing to his shoes, they said they would have the brogue off the whig's foot, and accordingly laid hands on him; but he being a very strong man, threw himself out of their grips, and turning to a pitchfork, which was used at the stacking of his corn, and they having their broad swords drawn, cried, Claymore! and made at him; but he quickly drove them out of the kiln, and chased them all four away from the house, and knocked one of them to the ground.

The next day about twenty of them came to the house; but he not being at home, they told they were come to take the whig and his arms. They plundered his house, as they did the house of every other man who would not conform to the then laws; and such was their thievish disposition, and so well acquaint were they with the second-sight, that let people hide their goods never so well, yet these Athole and Broad-Albians men would go as right to where it was hid, whether beneath or above the ground, as if they had been at the putting of it there, dig

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it up, and away with it, rejoicing as though it had been their own. From this I remark, —that though four of us children were so cowed and terrified with their nightly searches, unruliness, and barbarous inhumanity, that we choosed for two months time to lie all night in the open fields to shun them; yet it pleased the Lord of his great mercy not one of us contracted any hurtful cold that we were sensible of, though it was the depth of winter. Though, when they left that country, they drove away many black cattle and sheep, as also many good horses, with household furniture and provisions, such as meal, malt, groats, butter, cheese, body-clothes, bed-clothes, pots, pans, crooks, tongs, spades, shovels, plough-irons, and whatever made for them, sparing neither conformist nor nonconformist; and yet before a twelvemonth was over, they were much poorer than when they came to the west country; for I saw some of them come a begging the next year, and heard them often say in their broken English, you Lowland folk are better than our folk, for God hath cursed us and all that we had, because we took your gear from you. Upon which I cannot but observe what is written, Ps. ix,

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16, God is known by the judgments which he executeth: Ps. clxv, 17, The Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works: Isaiah, xxx, 18, The Lord is a God of judgment; blessed are all they that wait for him. O! that I could praise the Lord, for his right hand is ever exalted, and doeth valiantly. Amen.

In the year 1679, and tenth of my age, upon the 1st of June, being Sabbath, there was a field-preaching by a presbyterian minister, called Mr. Douglas, at a place called Drumclog; upon which meeting came a squadron of the enemy, commanded by one Graham of Claverhouse, to seize upon the poor people of God met for his worship in the fields, because there was none in the churches in that place of the country but episcopal curates. The enemy had taken many prisoners by the way of those that were coming to the sermon, amongst which, Mr. John King, a very worthy minister, was one, a man whom my father dearly loved. The people who were met to hear sermon, seeing the enemy coming, sent for my father in all haste to come and help to oppose the common enemy. When my father came, he found the good country people drawn up in order to

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fight. Five or six of the gentlemen who were come to hear sermon took upon them to lead on the country people against the enemy; two of whom met my father, and gave him an account how matters were, and pointed out to him where Mr. King was guarded on the left wing of the enemy by one officer and four dragoons, which officer had orders to shoot Mr. King if the enemy lost the day; and if the poor country people lost, all that were taken, or should be taken prisoners, were to be hanged immediately after battle. My father, being a strong, bold, and resolute man, went on briskly in all the parts of the action, especially in the relief of Mr. King, whom he let at liberty; which boldness and activity of his was much taken notice of by the enemy, and severely revenged afterwards upon him and his family. The enemy lost the battle, and had about thirty-three of their number slain; whereof they gave out that my father killed seven with his own hand, which, as I said, much exposed him, and all his, to their after-revenging fury.

And, accordingly, after the Lord's people were defeated at Bothwell Bridge, the 22d of the same month, being Sabbath, the next

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Sabbath, June 29, they came to my father's house to seek him; but he being got out of their way, they carried away about sixty bolls of malt and barley, and as much meal and oats; and on Monday they came again, and carried away all his horses, black cattle, sheep, and household-furniture, with all the victual they had left the day before, and beat my mother and my eldest brother severely, and turned us all out of doors; and, in the meantime, that forenoon they denounced my father rebel to the government at the market-cross of the next borough, and offered three thousand merks for him, and one hundred for my mother, and one hundred for each of their four childen, (of which I was one,) to any person or persons that would apprehend him, my mother, or any of us, and threatened all the country under a great penalty not to harbour him, her, or any of us; and, further, by the treachery of some wicked neighbours, they got the most of my father's papers, and seized on all his money. Within three hours after we were thrust out, there came back a fresh party to apprehend any or all of us, but missed their prey; for the kind and ever watchful providence of God was such towards us, that be-

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fore they returned we were all gone out of the way, some of us one airt, and some of us another; and though they searched the neighbour's houses carefully for us, yet they got not one of us. What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits? who gave me not up for a prey to the will of enemies, nor left me to fall a victim to the revenging fury of these men who were skilful to destroy; neither left me to be cut off for a religion, the sweet fruits and incomes of which I was a great stranger to. Glory to Him, for he made me to see that he sits on the floods of man's fury, Ps. xxix, 10; and that the wicked cannot destroy those whom he has appointed to live; for now when men had done their utmost to starve and ruin us, yet God, who waits to be gracious, Isaiah xxx, 18, reserved us all for some years, so that they could not touch us; a thing which was almost incredible, such was the fury and vigilance of the enemies. But glory to thee, O Lord, for the event made it to appear that this work was thine, that their hope should be defeated, and our fears disappointed; so this our preservation came forth from the Lord of Hosts alone, who is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working, Isaiah

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xxviii, 29. And further, it was some allay to our great affliction, that those who were our enemies were God's enemies, and enemies to his work and people; and it was some comfort to us, that their enmity and rage against us was for those things which was matter of conscience to my father and mother, both of whom were willing, as the Lord would enable them, to undergo any kind of suffering rather than sin against God, wound their own consciences, or offend the generation of the righteous; for though the wicked robbed them of all that they had in the world, yet they suffered joyfully the spoiling of their goods; notwithstanding of which they never wanted food and raiment, for the Lord sustained them and theirs. Glory to Him who is a present help in the time of trouble, Ps. xlvi, 1, 5.

And here, to the lasting honour and fame of the Right Honourable the Earl of Lowdon, who, when my father's house was plundered, sent his servants, and laid claim to several things as his own, and sent for my father from his lurking-place in the night-time, and paid him money for what his Lordship had laid claim to, and shewed him much other kindness. And further, though all per-

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sons were forbidden, on the severest terms, not to harbour any of us, yet the Lord, in his kind of providence, never shut one door upon us but he quickly opened another for us, so that we evidently saw the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, Ps. xxiv, 1; and sometimes we were most befriended by those who professed little religion themselves: so that we could not but allude to Rev. xii, 16, when the dragon did vomit forth floods of water, the earth helped the woman; and we all had it to remark, that all those who were (at this time) the most violent persecutors of my father, and that got the most part of his worldly substance, did perish within a few years, and fall without hands. Yea, even those of his neighbours who did inform against him, for love to get a part, quickly came to nothing; for they all, within two years, either died or came to begging poverty, because of a visible blasting that seized every thing they had: upon which I heard my father say, Lord pity and spare these poor mortals, and give them repentance, if it be thy holy will; and he added, with David, Ps. xxxviii, 20, they that render me evil for good are my adversaries, because I follow the thing that good is.

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And, indeed, they could not get any occasion against him, except in the matters of his God, as is said of Daniel, vi, 4, 5, Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, because his mercy endureth for ever: O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men: The Lord is good to them that wait for him, and to the soul that seeketh him; for he will not cast off for ever, but though he cause grief, yet will he have compassion, according to the multitude of his tender mercies, for they are new every morning: great and much to be adored is he who hath faithfulness for the girdle of his loins. Amen.

Thus being driven from our father's house, and obliged to wander sundry ways, and to distant places, so that many times one of us knew not what was become of another, neither durst one of us go see another for fear of being taken notice of, and for fear of bringing trouble on those with whom we stayed. Thus we continued the latter part of the years 1679, 1680, 1681, which was the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years of my age, without any further sharp trial, because the Lord hid us, so that the enemy could not get

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any notice of us; only my dear father was often in great danger, because he went on contending against prelacy and Erastian supremacy on the one hand, and against the erroneous schismatical extravagances of one John Gib, a very lewd and wicked man, and his party, who affected a nonsensical singularity, on the other hand; he still adhering to the truths of God, as they are revealed in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, summed up in our Westminster Confession of Faith, and Catechims larger and shorter; all which truths were sworn to in our covenant's national and solemn league, which, alas! were broken a long time before that time, and lie buried yet to this day in the ashes of our dreadful apostacies: thus, I say, he went on contending for and against these things deliberately and resolvedly, cost what it would, and in hearing the gospel preached by that eminently faithful servant of God, Mr. Donald Cargill; and they, with some others, spent much of their time in fasting and prayer to and before the Lord for aid, light, and counsel anent what was duty, and what was sin, in that dark, critical, and suffering dispensation that was befallen them. During which time the Lord

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wonderfully protected, and mercifully provided for all our family, so far as we were not troublesome to any; and, as for myself in particular, I found that word made good, Ps. xxxvii, 8, Trust in the Lord and do good, so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shall be fed: this I found to be true, though, alas! I came far short of the duty required; for, notwithstanding of the former warm awakenings and heart-meltings that I was exercised with, and notwithstanding of the religious example, and many good counsels that I got from my parents and others of my friends, and notwithstanding of the many straits and dangers that my father's family were reduced and exposed unto, yet I found a body of death and indwelling sin to overflow all banks, and that every check it met with proved bulwarks too weak to hedge it in: And, notwithstanding of my weak and faint resistance, it took its furious vent many ways, leading me captive to sin and Satan; so that, in a great measure, it was discovered to me, that I was a monster of sin, yea a mass of sin and sinful corruption, in the abstract, which appeared especially from these particulars.

Being driven from my father's family, and

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from under his and my pious mother's influence, I haunted and keeped company with other peoples children, who were viciously educated; and I, poor fool, quickly learned their manners, and drank in their corrupt communications with all greediness, and plainly found that the way of sin is down hill; for the more I got of their company the more I thirsted after it, and the more was I tainted with their vicious manners: but, alas! I did not advert that the corrupt fountain was in myself, and inseparably twisted and inlaid in my heart and nature.

I came to have so little regard for the holy Sabbath, that I set light by and trampled upon the authority of God established in the fourth command, and upon the pious example and good counsel of my christian parents. And here I was greatly guilty in not watching carefully over the frame and disposition of my carnal heart, and in neglecting to pray with a humbling and mournful sense of sin, especially original corruption, and my utter depravity in heart and nature of every thing that is good: and I greatly neglected to eye the mercy of God through Christ, and the glory of his free grace, as I ought to have done; but instead of that, trifled away my

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precious time with sporting and playing, and idle sinful carnal discourse, notwithstanding of many convictions to the contrary.

Though I stood in some awe of direct lying, yet I made no bonds to lie, by equivocating and other indirect shifts, to shun reproofs, and the rebuke of friends, and to shun the danger of enemies, especially to conceal whose son I was; and when my conscience stared me in the face for any of these things, I would invent arguments to pacify the clamours thereof; but, to my sad experience, I quickly found this was the only way to make it bite the sorer, and speak the louder; upon which I found that there was no quieting of it but by fleeing to the blood of Christ, and the virtue of his satisfaction and intercession: and although I was to make a virtue of necessity, yet this I was no ways able or willing to do, except when it was given me from above, and even then I often found a great drawback in myself.

When I was at any time more than ordinarily privileged with enlargement of soul, and carried out in the discharge of my duty, then I foolishly rested satisfied therewith, not leaving those things that are behind, and reaching forth to the God of all grace for

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momentary supplies out of his inexhaustible fulness; thus I sinned greatly in taking up with a created portion, and not seeking always to have an uncreated God in Christ to be ever my life-giving head of divine influences at all times, and in all circumstances of condition.

I was often led by the power of sin and carnality to be easy and indifferent about the afflictions, sufferings, and bloodshed of the Lord's people; and when I offered to check myself for this sin, I myself excused myself with my not being actually guilty; but, upon examination, I found myself consequently guilty, in as far as I did not mourn for the sins and abominations of the land, and utterly abhor these wicked courses, and constantly keep up a protest against them in my heart, and all this from a right principle of saving grace; and that I had no ground to look on myself as a true sympathizer with these suffering Josephs in their afflictions, unless I was often at a throne of grace on their behalf, and heartily grieved for their tribulations.

These are some of the ways whereby the great mystery of iniquity was further laid open, to my great shame and confusion, because of which I had many melancholy

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struggles with a body of sin and death; and upon the account of which I gave up, in a great measure, with my foolish and wicked companions, and restricted myself to as narrow a compass of retiredness as my circumstances would admit of, and plied close to the reading of my catechism and the Holy Bible, and sought a lesson from any body that would give me one; and frequently set time apart for prayer, and took on vows against my sins, to give up with all my iniquities; but, alas! they proved like Sampson's withs, through the strength of my unruly corruptions, because of which I could not escape drawing this inference, that the more near that any are engaged to God by duties and privileges, and yet not thoroughly reconciled to him by faith in the blood of Christ, the more closely are they exposed to the wrathful shot of his fiery indignation.

Sometime after this I met with great Mr. Guthrie's Trial of a Saving Interest, and Mr. Richard Alleine's Vindication of Godliness, and read them closely; and finding in them the scheme of personal covenanting, the which duty, after several times set apart to seek the Lord for light and assistance, I attempted, and, as the Lord helped me, I at-

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tained to much melting enlargement of heart and soul therein. I had not peace to make use of their express words, because I thought it was too formal, but I held close by their scope; only I was often more large in lamenting my lost condition, and in essaying a thorough closure with Christ on gospel terms. Which covenant I, in process of time, drew out in writ, and often renewed upon the back of the more treacherous slips that my perfidious heart played me; but, after all, when I found the treacherous deceivings of my heart to continue, I quickly ran into a fatal mistake, judging all my attainments to have been mere delusions, because that sin was not totally subdued. For I certainly thought it was so with every one who were effectually called, and instated in covenant with God in Christ, that they had surely gotten complete victory over sin. O! gross and childish ignorance: but, upon examining the case of the Scripture saints, and ups and downs, and betters and worse, of the temper of my heart, I at length found, like Rebecca, I had two contrary parties within me, the law of my members warring against the law of my mind, or the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit lusting against the

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flesh; and having conversed with some of the godly and experienced Christians on this point, by them I understood that this was a warfare that I was to lay my account to be exercised with as long as I was in the body.

The sight and sense of my sinful wretchedness and unworthiness in playing fast and loose with God continuing, I became weary of my formal personal covenanting, and retired myself as much as possible not only from all wicked company, both old and young, and also from the company of all professors who were given to disputation, and did not live up to their pretences of religion; but, in some measure, I loved the company of the truly and tenderly godly, although I was ashamed, because of my sins, to use any freedom with them, except to my mother, or when much urged to it by others; for I affected retiredness very much, from a sense of my great unworthiness; and spent some of my time in the search of that hidden manna which carries the poor soul above all sublunary things, that so I might have Christ to be my light, my life, and my lawgiver, and that in, through, and by him I might have the debt of sin freely and fully paid, and by his strength the debt of the duty of obedi-

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ence performed, and the debt of thankfulness for redeeming love, and all mercies flowing therefrom, gratefully acknowledged; and that I might be directed with his unerring counsel to know where, and upon what grounds, to state my sufferings, if the Lord should deliver me up into the hands of the enemy; and that I might not be left altogether to take up with other men's light; for although the suffering party, with whom I most part conversed, were greatly harmonious in judgment, as to what was sin and what was duty, yet there were some amongst them who differed much on both hands; some saying this, and some saying that, some being for one thing, and some for another; from which I learned, I was to make no man's light my standard.

Now while I was thus exercised, when my frame was any way suitable, I allowed myself to strike in, I took the advantage of it for prayer in private, and also ejaculatory prayer; and when my heart was dead and carnal, and I every way unframed, then I essayed the same duty either mental or vocal. Thus I spent sometimes a great part of the day, and sometimes a great part of the night, crying to the Lord to remove and heal the

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many woful plagues of my heart, and reveal himself savingly in me and to me; and grant me ever much of his divine aid and assistance; and that he would ever give me a holy and humble heart, and help me ever to be exercised in embracing a whole Christ for justification, sanctification, and final perseverance in grace unto the end; and that I might be always helped through grace to be ever descending into my own mind, and there feel the workings of my own corrupt heart; from whence I may see great cause to draw this black line of condemnation on myself, Cursed is every one that continueth not to do every thing that is written in the book of the law. When I feel and see so much of old Adam's villany and rebellion in myself, because of which I am now dead by law, and should have the sentence execute on me, were it not that the great Mediator, God-man, has given his life a ransom, by interposing himself betwixt the axe and the block; and, therefore, thanks and for ever thanks be to God for his rich and unspeakable gift, Christ Jesus the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, even the mighty Ransomer, who redeems Israel from all their iniquities, by bringing in an everlasting

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righteousness and covenant of free grace, which is the blessed ark of safety, in which is embarked all the heirs of grace, till they swim up to be possessed of glory. Upon all which considerations I must cry out, O the wonders of redeeming love! O the condescensions of redeeming love! O love unfathomable! And O love inconceivable! and be thou always swallowed up therein O my soul, and let never Time's vanities bewitch me, nor Time's pleasures gain upon me any more for ever till eternity take place of time, and until a state militant give place to a state triumphant. Amen.

In the year 1682, when in the thirteenth year of my age, in the conduct of divine providence, things in my father's family began to take a turn, in order to our being further tried, after the following manner, viz. It was designed by my friends, that I should go and stay with a kinsman of my father's; but, upon second thoughts, without any foreseen reason, it was judged more proper to send my younger brother, which was a kind providence to me, that I could never enough admire and wonder at; for shortly after he went, there was a party of the enemy came to that man's house, to search for

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some of the persecuted party. When the people of the house saw the enemy coming they fled out of the way; but the cruel enemy got my dear brother into their hands. They examined him concerning the persecuted people, where they haunted, or if he knew where any of them were; but he would not open his mouth to speak one word to them. They flattered him: they offered him money to tell where the whigs were; but he would not speak. They held the point of a drawn sword to his naked breast: they fired a pistol over his head: they sat him on horseback behind one of themselves, to be taken away and hanged: they tied a cloth on his face, and set him on his knees to be shot to death: they beat him with their swords and with their fists: they kicked him several times to the ground with their feet; yet after they had used all the cruelty they could, he would not open his mouth to speak one word to them; and, although he was a very comely proper child, going in ten years of age, yet they called him a vile ugly dumb devil, and beat him very sore, and then went their way, leaving him lying on the ground, sore bleeding, in the open fields. Hereby the Lord fulfilled his word, surely the wrath

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of man shall praise thee, and the remainder of wrath thou wilt restrain, Ps. xvi, 10. From this passage of providence I remark, the kind over-ruling power and providence of God; for if the enemy had gotten knowledge whose son he was, they would have put him to death upon his father's account. How might my dear brother sing with David, I will render praise unto thee, O God, for thou hast delivered my soul from death, Ps. lvi, 12, 13.—That I could never enough reverence the good hand of God in considering my frame, and preventing my going to that house; for I was always more easy in my temper, and sooner wrought upon, than my brother. O! what shall I render unto the Lord for his sparing and preventing mercy, in that he did not lead me into this temptation, but delivered me from that evil; but what shall I say, himself did it, whose is the kingdom, the power, and the glory for ever: therefore, be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens, and let thy glory be above all the earth, Ps. lvii, 2, 5, 11, Because thou art God, even the Most High God, who performeth all things for me. Amen.

At this time I was obliged to remove three several times from one place to another,

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because of the vigilance that the enemy used to get notice of us; yet, through the mercy and kind providence of God, we were all still preserved. But the last half of this year came to be very trying to all of us; for the enemy swore, that, if we were out of hell, they should have some of us, if not all of us: and for that end they disguised one of themselves, a fair well-favoured young man, in women's clothes, like a gentlewoman, giv- out that she was a cousin of our own come from Ireland to invite us over to our friends there, because they had heard of our troubles in Scotland. This gained credit amongst our friends who knew where we were; especially seeing the metamorphosed, she was so like our family, and because of the other probabilities of his discourse. And so he got exact notice where we were; and returning back to his garrison, gave them an account; and so the next morning the whole troop came all out on horseback to the place where we were, which was about ten miles distant. But behold the kind providence of God, who always shewed himself a wonder-working God for me, even for poor me, who was always most unfit for the trial; and, therefore, he always for the most part kept me farthest

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from it: for, half an hour before the enemy came to the house where we stayed, my mother sent me about some business to my father, who was two miles farther off on the other side of a moss; and I was but a little way gone from my mother when I found myself pressed with a strong desire to pray; and, accordingly, I fell down in the moss and prayed, and then rising and running a little way I was again, through fervency of spirit, forced to fall down flat upon the ground to pray, and a third time; but finding my vehement desire to pray, and yet to run, increase upon me, I resolved to run bareheaded. And, accordingly, I ran and cried with all the strength of my voice, and yet I thought the cries of my heart and vehemency of my spirit far exceeded that of my voice; and I would take no denial, but mercy, mercy, pity, and compassion, from the Lord I would have for myself and father's family. And after I had near run the two miles, I was led out to mix my prayers with praises; but knew not what the matter meant, till I came where my father was met with some other Christians for prayer at the outmost edge of the moss, amongst whom I found my mother and the rest of her child-

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dren; and they were all on alarm. But nothing could make me afraid at that time, only I thought it strange to see them alarmed, and to find my mother there, she having no thought of it when I left her, till she told me, that, about a quarter of an hour after I left her, she saw the enemy coming, and had not above six or seven minutes to shift herself and her children into the moss, the house being on the edge of the moss, and she thought surely they had gotten me. I told her I had not seen them nor any other body since I left her; but I did not at that time tell her how I was employed.

Thus the Lord fulfilled his word to us in being a covert from the storm and from the tempest, Isaiah iv, 6; and stayed his rough wind in the day of his east wind, Chron. xxvii, 8; and he made us to sing of mercy and of judgment to him, even to him, who is the God of all our mercies, Ps. ci, 1: But yet our wine was mixed with gall; for the gentleman who had allowed us an apartment in his mother's jointure-house was taken prisoner, carried away, and put into a dungeon, where was not one peep of light; and they tied fiery matches betwixt his fingers till the sinews burst, and he escaped death

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very narrowly, by taking the abominable oath called the test, and paying a fine; which thing was a great affliction to us, that any should have been put to such sufferings upon our account.

Thus the Lord's ways were in the waters, and his footsteps in the great depths, as to us, Ps. lxxvii, 19; the Lord hath his way in the whirlwind, and the clouds are the dust of his feet, Nahum i, 3; thus he trained us on to live by faith, and not by sight and sense, 2 Cor. v, 7; John xx, 29. From this passage of providence I remark, the great favour and kindness of God extended to poor unworthy me, in that he called me to praying work when he left others, who were every way much better, to be exposed to dangers, and sore put to to escape with their life.—That it pleased the Lord, in his infinite wisdom and unaccountable sovereignty, to bring us very often to the last extremity, and then trysted us with such a complete deliverance, as no hand but his own could have wrought for us. Hereby he was still seeking to empty us of ourselves, that he might make way to fill us with himself; and hereby he was disengaging our hearts from all creature refuges, that we might seek to him to be our

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alone refuge, Ps. clii, 4, 5. The Lord suffered the enemy to bring their crafty cruel projects to the birth, and then gave them a miscarrying womb, shewing wherein they dealt proudly he was above them, Ps. xxxiii, 9; John xix, 9; Lam. iii, 37. Notwithstanding of the vigilant cruelty of our enemies, yet the Lord provided a place of safety for us, thereby still making us to see that the earth is his and the fulness thereof, Ps. xxiv, 1; that so we for the future might depend upon him alone, Ps. iii, 8. Now for the receipt of all which kind providences, I invite thee, O my soul, and all things in heaven and earth, to bless and praise the Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth, Ps. ciii, 20, 21, 22; Gen. xiv, 19, 20.

Here follows some few of the many questions that I now, and afterwards, exercised myself with. Alas! was not I conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity? and being twofold more a sinner by actual transgression, I stand in absolute need of a Saviour. Am not I the greatest fool in all the world? and, therefore, stand in absolute need of divine light and truth to guide me at all times, and in all cases. Am not I all filthiness? and, therefore, stand in great need of being

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washen in the blood of Christ, and renewed by the spirit of his grace, to make me holy in heart, holy in nature, and holy in conversation and communication.—Have not I been often the worse for keeping company with those who are not exercised unto godliness? and, therefore, have great need to shun all such for time to come as far as possible. Where is my heart? or with what is it exercised? whether with heavenly and sublime things? or is it running with the fool to the ends of the earth, and taking up with carnal, sinful, and sensual pleasures? Am I not daily liable to many snares, evil accidents, and sinful temptations, yea to death itself? wherefore I am to pass the time of my sojourning here in fear, continually seeking unto God in Christ, that for his great namesake I may be preserved from them, borne up under them; and kept from all sin; and if it be death, that there may be an abundant entrance administered for me into his heavenly kingdom. Are not some of my friends proving false unto me, and others of them daily dropping into eternity? and, therefore, I have great need to seek first the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof. Am I not continually defiling and

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polluting myself with sin, both in committing of that which is evil, and omitting that which is commanded? therefore have great need to be exercised in running to the blood of Christ for daily washing; and to be ever thirsting after the spirit of grace, to be helped thereby to speedy and quick advances in sanctification. Am not I hourly in danger of losing my natural life? and, therefore, have great need to give all diligence, that I may find eternal life in heaven. Have I not sinned myself under all the curses of the covenant of works? and, therefore, I have great need, through Christ, to be interested in him, and all the blessings of his covenant of grace. Am not I an heir of wrath beyond all others? and, therefore, have great need to be exercised in seeking to be made an heir of grace as much as any other. Am not I ever indisposing myself for the duties of religion? and, therefore, I am ever to look up to the Lord Jesus Christ, for the efficacious operations of his grace to inspire and set me on work at all times. Is it not sin and Satan that ever destroys me? but it is Christ alone, the Lamb of God, that must redeem me; and it is his word and spirit that must convert me, strengthen, direct, and

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comfort me. Have not I too often hearkened to the corrupt counsels of my carnal heart? therefore, now, I ought carefully to hearken to the voice of God in his word and providences. Am not I now groaning heavily under a body of sin and death? and, therefore, I am ever to be longing much and crying often for the day of my redemption. Am not I the chief of all sinners? and, therefore, ought to be ever longing that I may be made a redeemed object of and free-grace's debtor for evermore, that I may have occasion to sing through all eternity. How much sin and misery am I redeemed from? and how much glory and endless felicity am I redeemed to? and how fully and safely am I compassed about with the garments of salvation? Amen.

The year 1683, being the fourteenth year of my age, was a year of heavy trials, wherein I met with many singular proofs of the Lord's providential care of me, and kindness to me, in that he was pleased graciously to interpose himself betwixt me and death. For, in the month of March, I escaped very narrowly being drowned in the river Clyde. In the month of May, I was with two other men taken prisoners; the manner was thus.

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The enemy came in the midst of the night to the house where I stayed, and, searching the house, took other two men and me out of our bed, handled us very roughly, and after made us to stand in a remote corner of the house, till they filled their bellies with the best of such victuals as the house afforded, whereof there was plenty. The people with whom I stayed had five daughters, all young women; and although one of the other two men was their brother, and the other their uncle, yet the Lord inclined the hearts of two of the daughters, while the enemy was busy at meat, to put forth their hand and draw me behind them, close to a wall; and they stood close before me all the while that the enemy were busy at meat; who, when they had done, they took the two men out of the corner where they had set us. One of the enemy said there were three; another said there were but two; and after some debate about the number of their prisoners, they went away with the two without any further search. But how much is the goodness of God to be admired in this my delivery? for the commanding-officer, to whom they were taken to be examined, would have known me, for he was particu-

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larly acquaint with all my father's family: so that although my sirname was changed, that none in that place of the country could tell my right name, yet it would have been to no purpose if I had been brought before him. This was a singular instance of the ever watchful and over-ruling providence of God, who always waits that he may be gracious.

Further, in July, one morning, at six o'clock, I went out to a wood a little distant from the house; and within a little I heard the sound of people among the trees drawing near to me; when I looked up, and saw men clothed in red; and as I got to my feet, one of them bade me stand dog, and be shot. I said to him, what good will my blood do you; and when he cocked his pistol, another of them said, Hold man, do not shoot the bonny lad. The man with the pistol said I was a whig. They asked my name, and I told them my new name. They said one to another, they had none of that name in their lists. He that commanded them said, since we have none of that name, let him alone. The first man that came unto me swore again, that he would have me shot; but two of them would not let him. So they

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went off and left me. I stayed about five or six hours in that place, considering what lessons I was to learn from that merciful deliverance, whereby, in a manner, I was miraculously preserved from this and the foregoing danger, when the two sisters concealed me behind them.—From both which I remark, that the Lord is infinite in wisdom to contrive, and infinite in power, faithfulness, and goodness to bring about deliverance, to and for them whom he has appointed to live; but the ways and instruments that he makes use of in order thereunto it is impossible for me to reckon up; for sometimes he does it by taking the power out of their hand, as he did to Sennacherib, 2 Kings xix, 35, 36, 37: sometimes he does it by rebuking them, as he did Laban, Gen. xxxi, 24: sometimes he does it as in the case of Esau, who was turned from an enraged enemy to a kissing and weeping brother, Gen. xxxiii: sometimes he does it by dividing the enemies amongst themselves, as in the case of Joseph's brethren when they were conspiring his death, Gen. xxxvii, 22. He cut them short of their wicked designs against me, the one time, by putting it in the two sisters hearts to draw me behind them; and at this

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time, in the wood, by dividing them amongst themselves. O rare and wonderful! for by these, and many other ways, the great Lord Jehovah, the all-sufficient God, doth evidence to all, that he has the reins and government of all hearts and hands at his beck; so that when he pleaseth to clap the manacles of an arrest upon man or beast, they cannot move neither hand, foot, nor tongue. Witness the dogs of Egypt, Ex. xi, 7; witness Darius's lions, Dan. vi, 22; witness Nebuchadnezer's furnace, Dan. iii, 24, 25; witness the devils themselves can do nothing without the Lord's sovereign permission, as in the case of Job i, 12, 26. What can I say to all these things, but what Moses the man of God said upon a great deliverance at the Red Sea, Ex. xv, 11, Who is like unto thee, O Lord! who is glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, and doing wonders: O blessed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory, Ps. lxxii, 19: bless the Lord, O my soul, for his mercy endureth for ever. Amen.

The latter part of this year 1683, the bloody persecution being still very hot, my father's family had much difficulty to escape

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the fury thereof; yet the Lord was very kind, and provided them still with one pekah [an opening] after another; the last of which to my mother and sister was a poor cottage, where they ended their earthly pilgrimage: the manner was as follows:—In the month of December, my father took me alongst with him, on a Saturday's night, four miles distant from the place where my mother with her children were. I stayed with him all Sabbath-day, which was spent in the worship of God. At night, when he and those with him were going away from the house where we had stayed all day, I could not get him parted with, neither could I well speak for weeping: upon which I knew well, from former experience, that such violent emotions of grief and heart-meltings were a presage of some ensuing sore trial. My father asked what the matter was? I said I knew not; but I feared we would get sad news of one another. Some of those who were with him began to boast me to silence; but he desired them to let me alone, telling them, that sorrow was twice sorrow to me; and so he comforted and exhorted me; and I desired, since he could not stay with us, that he would cry to the

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Lord on our behalf; the which thing he promised, and spoke kindly to me, and so parted.

On Monday morning, I returned to go to my mother; but all the way I could do nothing but weep, groan, and lie down and sleep; for, though I had but four miles to go, yet I was seven or eight hours in making it out. When I came to my mother, I found my younger brother fallen in the fever, and my sister near to death of a consumption that she had contracted about a twelvemonth before. When I had delivered my errand to my mother, that I went alongst with my father for, and done some other necessary business according to my mother's command, she shut the door of the cottage, and says to me, You have been as dutiful a son as a woman could expect, for which I give you my hearty blessing; and I am going to pray to the Lord, that he may abundantly bless you, my husband, and the rest of my children; and so went about family worship with much enlargement of heart in prayer, recommending herself, soul and body, her husband, her children, and the work and people of God, to the Lord's kind care and infinitely wise disposal. After prayer, taking a piece of

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money in her hand, she says, this is all the money which your father has, dig a hole in this place, (pointing to the ground,) and hide it there, and the first time you see your father give it him; for, says she, my days are near at an end. If any person had been witness to us, they should have seen as much sorrow, and yet as much quietness and composure of mind, as two persons, in such circumstances, could be capable of. But, behold, he who appointed me from everlasting to have such a pious sweet well-disposed mother, knew that I could not well bear to part with her; and, therefore, he wisely thought fit to hide sorrow from me in a way of his own blessed contrivance; for the heavy sorrow I was under the two former days, sunk me this night, before the morrow, into a high fever, in which fever I lost my senses, which continued so with me for fifteen days; all which time I had no knowledge nor remembrance of any thing, and spoke but little, except when calling for drink. On the second day of my fever, my mother turned sick; so we were all four lying like persons deadly wounded in the field of battle; but the Lord, who is a present help in the time of need, inclined a gentlewoman to come and

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see my mother; and the gentlewoman, seeing none of us able to give another a drink, she provided us with a servant; and after that another, who both proved good friends to us.

My mother died on the seventh day of her sickness. Word was sent to my father, who hasted back to us, and came just time enough to my sister's burial, who died the sixth day after my mother; and he, finding his wife dead and buried, he said with Job, Naked came I into the world, and naked must I go out of it again: the Lord is now lopping my roots, like that of a tree, that I may fall the more easily. And, indeed, the loss of my mother was a stroke that touched him to the quick, and humbled him much; and it could not be otherwise, considering that he was a man of a strong affection, and she a woman many ways very endearing, especially in piety, sweetness, and easiness of temper. A few instances of her piety and religious disposition are as follows, (which I had from my aunt, my father's sister,) who told me, that as soon as my mother found herself with child, she always gifted the fruit of her womb to the Lord; and after they were born, she always took some of them

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with her to secret prayer, and my father other some of them with him. And, further, my aunt told me, she had never seen any body go beyond my mother in subduedness of spirit; closet and family piety was her constant care and study; but never pretended to any great knowledge of public matters of a religious concern: only before their family keeping was broken up in the year 1679, she was ever learning of her husband. And when any trial came to them in point of compliance with the sins of the time, he was ever telling her, from such and such places of scripture, the unlawfulness of such compliance: for instance, when the cess and locality came to be imposed by the then authority to bear down the rendezvous of rebellion, a term of ignominy that the enemy gave to the religious meetings of the Lord's people, he said to her, See the narrative of their act is in express terms to bear down the worship of God, and persecute his cause and people; and if I should cast in my lot with the wicked, and give them of my wordly substance, wherewith to support them in their wicked courses, I become guilty of their persecution; and, therefore, I dare not give them any thing. She answered him meekly, and said,

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God forbid; see that you do nothing that may wound your conscience, or wrong the Lord's work and people, come of me and my children what will; and if you, they, and I, get safe to Emanuel's land, we shall be more than sufficiently made up of all our worldly losses. I must say, (said my aunt,) I never knew a person bear their crosses with more quietness of mind, patience, and evenness of temper, than your mother did, notwithstanding of her vast worldly losses, and notwithstanding of the innumerable straits and dangers that she and her's were made to undergo; and yet, after all, I must say, (as she often said herself,) with Paul, what had she to lose? or what had she to bear up under her losses with but what was given her? 1 Cor. iv, 7; 2 Cor. iii, 5; James, i, 17; Rom. xi, 36; for as she found all her springs were from the Lord's all-sufficiency, by whom, and through whom, she could do all things, he strengthening her, so I found her always willing and ready to give him the glory of all: and O that I could bless and magnify him for his kind providence to me, in my having such a mother, who concerned herself with the inward and serious part of religion, and constantly pressed the study of it

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upon her children and servants: and she urged us always to give all diligence to make sure of a personal interest in the free favour of God, through the Mediator Christ Jesus, the virtue of whose blood and merits we were to seek, to have effectually applied to us by the holy spirit, in his saving and powerful efficacy and operations. She likewise pressed us much to take cross dispensations in good part out of the Lord's hand, and entirely resign ourselves to his disposing will.

But to return to her death, and the death of my sister.—Some short time after their burials, (which behoved to be performed in the night-time, because of the hotness of the persecution,) it pleased the Lord the fever left me and my younger brother, and we both recovered our health, only my mother's death was a heavy stroke to me, so that I often cried out, O! my mother! my mother! shall I never see her more? O! my mother! my mother! shall I never have more of your good counsel and sweet company? Yet there were two things which silenced me much, viz. the disposing will of God; and, next, that what was my loss was undoubtedly her unspeakable gain. From this dispensation of providence, concerning the death of my

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mother and sister, I had these following remarks:—I could not but wonder at the kindness and care of God, in taking away my mother and sister to a land where the weary are at rest, and where the wicked cease from troubling the just; for within twenty-two months my father was taken and executed; which dispensation would have been the sorest stroke of all for his dear wife to bear, considering the tenderness of her affection to him.—Before any of these things fell out in our family, it pleased the Lord to cut off the most violent of our enemies, so that they got not their will of us; and what further persecution we met with, fell to the share of other wicked men; that so they might fill up the measure of their iniquity also. And hereby the Lord manifested his sovereignty in cutting short those who got all my father's worldly substance, which hastened their ruin, by their turning so proud, haughty, and cruel; and he loosed the reins to others to get his blood, and the three thousand merks that were offered for apprehending him, which hastened remarkable ruin on them also. O! how much is God to be had in reverence, who is righteous in all his ways and holy in all his works, for the whole

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earth is full of his glory! From hence I may see the brevity and uncertainty of this human life, Job. xiv, 1, 2,3, 4, 5; Ps. xxxix, 4, 5; xc, 3, 4, 5, 6; from hence I may always see that all these things come forth from the right hand of the Lord, and are performed by him to whom belongeth all the issues from death, Ps. lxviii, 20. From hence I do see, that now the Lord is in a special way remarkably upon his mighty acts, both of mercy and judgment, with respect to my father's family, Ps. lxv, 5. From hence I may learn, that the Lord doth often tryst his own people with the dark and wrath-like side of the cloud of his providences first, and afterwards with the light warm and friendly side next, Heb. xii, 11; Ps. xxix, 3, 10. From hence I may learn, when the Lord is exercising me with judgments, it is not for me, a poor blind ignorant creature, to arraign his holy and spotless procedure at the bar of my blind and vitiated reason; but rather put a blank in his hand, and let him fill up my lot with what he pleases, Ps. xxxix, 9; Lev. x, 3; Dan. iv, 35; Job. xxxiv, 29. From hence I see, that no creature-comfort or enjoyment is to be taken up with, neither any foundation sought to rest upon, but wise

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and kind Omnipotence, Isaiah, 1, 10. From hence I learn, that all rational beings are set on the stage of time, to act for an eternity; and then, when their day comes, to take flight to the world of spirits, never more to return to their friends on earth, but they must go to them, and make way for others; and so death breaks all bonds of union and relation, betwixt friend and friend, husband and wife, parent and child, even though loving to one another, beyond expression; the thoughts of which makes me cry out, O! vanity of vanities! all Time's things are vanity and vexation of spirit, Ecl. i, 4; Chr. iii, 1, 2, 19; Chr. viii, 6, 7, 8; Chr. ix, 5, 6, 10. From hence I learn, that while on this stage of time, God hath put a great work in my hand, which is to glorify him all the days of my life, and to work out my own salvation, Rom. xi, 36; 1 Cor. x, 31; Ps. xiii, 2, 4. From hence I see the great need there is of making sure a personal interest in the free favour of God through Christ, and to have this daily intimated to my soul, by the inward testimony of his spirit, according to the outward testimony of his word. I cannot but adore the sovereign wisdom of God, in that he preserved my life, and yet

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hid the sorrow of my mother's death from me, by throwing me into a fever, which death I could not otherwise well have borne. O! glory to him! for he is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working. From hence I learn, the great need I have of making daily use of Christ, as for justification, so also of his fulness for growth and suitable advances in sanctification, and to be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, till his time come: that I must remove after my friends from this region of sins, calamities, and vexations of spirit, and get home unto the uninterrupted enjoyment of God, and of my godly relations, 1 Pet. i, 5; Col. i, 12, 13, 14; Heb. xii, 22, 23, 24: O Lord, bear up in mercy to that, and in that day. Amen.

In the year 1684, when in the fifteenth year of my age, I was in a very lonesome and disconsolate condition; but at last kind providence led me as by the hand to a gentleman's house, in which all things were thriving except real religion, where I stayed that year in midst of much plenty, but little peace in my mind, for these reasons following:—I had no occasion of christian converse with any.—I had few occasions of going to reli-

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gious meetings, and when I had, I suffered much reproach and ridicule from some of the family, because they understood I was some nights absent, from which they concluded I could be nowhere else.—There was a lewd woman in that parish, who fired the episcopal curate's house in the night-time; the blame of this wicked deed was lodged on the Lord's suffering people; and so all the country was summoned four miles round before the sheriff, to give their oaths if they knew who did it. All the family where I was went and gave their oath of exculpation; and because I would not go, it was very ill taken; but I told the master of the family, that I could not in conscience own these judges as legal, neither durst I make my name known, lest it exposed me to further suffering; which reasons satisfied him; and so I stayed, and took my venture, (committing the event to God.)—Some of our friends advised my father to go out of the country to Ireland, which I would have been glad of; but he would by no means yield thereunto: his principal argument to the contrary was, that he, with the rest of the generation, had sinned in Scotland, and transgressed the covenant of God, and, therefore, in Scotland

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he would stay, and live and die, witnessing for the truths of God, and against the sins and defections of the generation wherein he lived. From which I could not but observe, that it seemed to be the disposing will of God, that such of our family as were alive behoved to stay in the furnace, and that my father should live a wrestling and contending life for these precious truths, which many of the generation made little account of, and that sometime or another, in all probability, he would fall a sacrifice to his enemies fury; which accordingly came to pass the latter end of the next year. O that I could reverence and adore the holy and sovereign God, who disposeth of all things to his own glory, and to the unspeakable advantage of those that fear and serve him!

Here follows a few instances of what I was exercised with this year:—I read much on Mr. John Welsh his book, Popery Anatomized, wherein he lays open that religion (or rather irreligion) in its erroneousness, bigotry, and cruelty, excellently well, both from scripture, reason, fathers, and also their own writers, fighting them with their own weapons; in the reading of which I attained unto more of a distinct uptaking both of the

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orthodox and the antichristian way of believing and practising nor ever I understood before.—I read much of great Mr. James Durham's writings, which helped me to see more distinctly into the spirituality of the divine law of God, and also to understand more distinctly the doctrine of grace, and God's method of salvation, as held forth to me in the gospel.—That I am always to bear in mind, that God hath lodged in me the rich jewel of a rational and immortal soul, adorned with the faculties of understanding, will, affections, conscience, mind, and memory, in the exercise of which I am to distinguish myself from the brute animals, by levelling all the actions of my life to the glory of God, and to look beyond time to a future state, and prepare for the same, ever pressing after communion with God. And in regard the original dignity of my rational and immortal soul, with all the faculties thereof, is, by reason of sin, much crazed, vitiated, and altogether incapacitated to glorify God, and hold communion with him, therefore, I am to take no rest till all these my noble capacities be renewed in Christ, by the spirit of his grace, in my being endued with new qualities, tempers, exercises, and dispositions of soul, and so fram-

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ed for the service of God, and promoting my own salvation, by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.—And because Satan has always access on my unrenewed part, it being his dominion in me, therefore, I am ever to watch and guard against all inordinate motions and carnal sensual affections, that so I may not be led captive at the will of the flesh, sin, and Satan, to fulfil the lusts of them; but I am to be ever earnest with the Lord, that I may be more and more united to Christ, made conformable to him, and strengthened by him with all power and spiritual might in the inward man, being created in Christ Jesus to good works, and sanctified of him throughout in soul, body, and spirit, and be always helped of him, to keep a jealous eye over myself, and ever to be stretching forth in a humble resting in and firm reliance on an unseen all-sufficiency, still counting God faithful, who hath promised all that is good, and always be persuaded, that all my happiness is centered in him alone, and that he is ever to be sought to for all happiness, and not the creature how promising soever it may appear. O Lord, help me ever to be inquiring into the surpassing worth, inconceivable excellence, and unfathomable all-sufficiency, of a God in

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Christ Jesus, the noble and nonsuch Plant of Renown.—And seeing I am so easy and pliable in my temper, and strong in my affection, where once engaged, and so in much hazard to be imposed on to take up with other peoples light, and fall in with their persuasion, which thing I am strenuously to guard against, and keep close to the revealed will of God in his word, which is my only rule in all matters of faith and practice, and not foolishly sacrifice my conscience to other men's humours, especially where I see them given to heat of passion and wilful affectation; but where I see things reasoned scripture ways with the spirit of meekness, agreeable to the analogy of faith, then I am to look up to the Lord for light to close therewith; but, after all, if I get no light, I am to remain unclear in circumstantials, rather than be the instrument of division. O Lord, send forth thy light and thy truth to lead me in thy way everlasting.—Where I see any person helped in the main to keep close to the way of the Lord stedfastly, and, if called thereto, seal the same with their blood, then I am to entertain the outmost respect and regard for them, how much soever they and I differed in opinion, by reason of their

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light being either more or less than mine. O Lord help to christian charity.—I did begin this year to write and keep notes of things most remarkable, some of which things I afterwards much enlarged upon, as I ripened in capacity to reflect and make judgment, of what dark ideas and unintelligent notions I had of things from my infancy on my mind of the Lord's way of dealing with me, as to the exercise of my soul; and also about things of a more public concern I enlarged, and many other things, both of a public and private concern I abridged; and also, I lost many things through the hurry of persecution, that might afterwards have been useful to me. O Lord, set me apart for thyself, and devote me to thy fear, making me to cleave to the Lord and his way and people, with full purpose of heart; and suffer me not to decline to the right or left hand; and O grant, that thus saith the Lord may be the word that shall ever influence me to the end of my life, and at death. Amen, Amen.

In 1685, when going in my sixteenth year, all which time there was not a day passed over my head wherein the golden and glorious divine providence of God did not al-

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ways carry angry frowns in his beclouded brows to me; yet in every thing that befell me, he was so far visible on his mighty acts of preventing mercy and long-suffering patience, that he still gave me a gracious outgate, so wise, powerful, and well-versed is he at making contraries serve his end and purpose, so as he may be glorified, and the expectation of the poor answered, Ps. ix, 18; xii, 5; cxl, 12. Upon the remembrance of which, I must ever advise myself, and all others, whatever may befall us, always to trust in the Lord, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength, Is. xxvi, 4.

It is impossible for me to narrate all that I met with this year, only I take notice of some of the more remarkable occurrences of providence, wherein I was brought many times to the very jaws of destruction, and then wonderfully delivered by Him who waits that he may be gracious, so as I have good cause to sing of mercy and of judgment through the whole of this year.—In the month of January and February there was a wicked oath pressed through the kingdom, especially through the five western shires, with much vigour and diligence, called the oath of abjuration; and every one that swore

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this oath was obliged to have a testificate from the judge that administered the oath to them, as an evidence of their loyalty and conformity to the laws of the then government; and all of the military were empowered to examine every person they met with, and shoot to death every one that wanted this pass and mark of sinful compliance; and so eager were they in putting their orders in execution, that they shot several to death who had that pass, lest they should come short in their measure of cruelty, viz. a begging man in Galloway; John Barry in Evandale; John Smith in Newmills, and a young lad of fourteen years of age near to Cumloch, and two others, whose names I have forgot. The young gentleman, with whom I stayed, did did not take this oath, he, nor any of his family, whose names, with the names of all others who refused it, were taken up by the enemy, and my name amongst the rest, as an enemy to their government.

In the 26th of April following, it pleased God, in his good providence, to send that great man, Mr. Alexander Peden, to the gentleman's house where I was. April 27, he preached on the 10th of John, from which he spoke long and well, with application to the present

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times. After he ended, he paused a while, as if he had been meditating; and then with great emotion of spirit, broke silence, and said, with a loud voice, Cursed be they in the name of the Lord, that speak of my being come to Scotland, (for he was but come from Ireland a few weeks before;) and it was known to us afterwards, that a wicked malicious woman did, at the very same hour that he pronounced the curse upon her, go and inform the enemy of him, and where he was. However, notwithstanding of what God had warned him, and he us of, yet we all went to bed securely, where I dreamed the whole night on what befel us the next day. In the morning, the servants and I went to work in the fields; where, before nine o'clock in the morning, we saw a troop of dragoons coming at the full gallop. Mr. Peden, and those that were with him in the house, fled, which we at work knew nothing of; but we ran every one as providence directed; and the watchful providence of God, which was ever kind to me, led me as by the hand to a moss, two miles distant from where we were working, to which those with Mr. Peden were fled for shelter; which I knew nothing of till I came hither. The way to it was

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very steep and ascending ground. Two of the dragoons pursued me very hard; but spying another man in the pursuit of [*i. e.* following] me, him they pursued off at the right hand of my way. They fired at him; but it pleased the Lord he escaped at that time. Other two of them came in chace of me. I was sore put to it for my life. The day was very hot; the sun bright in my face, and the way mountainous; yet the Lord was very kind to me, and enabled me to run. I had sometimes thoughts of turning to this hand, and sometimes to the other, and, also, I often had thoughts to dive into the moss-water pits, and save my head in the rush-bushes; but yet I was overpowered, beyond my inclination, to keep on in my way to that moss where the rest were; at the edge of which there was a bog or morass, about ten or twelve yards broad, to which my good guardian, kind providence, brought me at last. And here the Lord was a present help in the time of need to me; for just as I was got through the bog, and drawing myself out of it by the heather of the moss, the two dragoons came to the other side; but seeing they could not get through to me with their horses, they bade me stand dog, and be shot. They fired upon me; but God directed

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the ball by my left ear. I finding that I had escaped the shot, ran farther into the moss. Kind providence led me just where my persecuted friends were lurking in a moss-hag, about twenty in number; at meeting with whom I was gladly surprised; but being so run out of breath, it was sometime before I could speak any. We stayed there for sometime, till a second troop joined the first troop; and seeing them dismount their horses, to take the moss on their foot to search us out, after some firing on both sides, without any execution done, we drew off, and travelled the midst of the moss. They seeing this, horsed again, and pursued us by the edges of the moss; but we always kept ourselves on such ground where horses could not come.

We ran that day hither and thither, forward and backward, about thirty miles. We got no manner of refreshment all that day but moss-water to drink, till night, that each of us got a drink of milk. Mr. Peden left those that were with him, and went one way; and I left them, and went another. I lay all night far from any house amongst heather. The next day, when I wakened, after the sun rose, I saw about two hundred foot and horse searching all the country far and near;

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but I seeing no way of escape unobserved by the enemy, I clapped close among the heather; and so kind and condescending was the Lord to me, that not one of the enemy came near the place where I lay; so tender was he of me, that he pitied my weak mind and fatigued body, and laid no more on me than I was able to bear. All glory and praise to him for ever! But still all this time, I was strongly impressed with apprehensions of more trouble to follow; so that I must say, although it has pleased the Lord many times to exercise me with unforeseen and surprising dispensations of providence, yet at other times, I have often had frequent presages of approaching troubles and trials; and it was so just now.—And accordingly within three or four days Graham of Claverhouse, a violent persecutor, came for a general search, with a hundred horse and three hundred Highlandmen. They got sight of seven us about the middle of the day, and pursued us hard till near midnight; but the Lord preserved us from these blood-thirsty men. We got no refreshment all that day, except a few mouthfuls of bread and cheese and moss-water; but the horse getting before us, and the foot being behind us, and we very much fatigued, we were

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brought to a great strait what to resolve upon for our safety. But at last finding my comrades resolving still to run, I told them that the Lord had preserved me these days past by running; but now, if he preserved me not some other way, I must fall in the enemy's hand, for I could run no more; and so my friends and I parted before the sun rose. Then I went to as obscure a place as I could think on, and clapped as close as I could, and cried out, Now, O Lord, the great and omnipotent God, thou alone hast the long and strong arms of infinite wisdom, infinite power, and infinite mercy. Employ them now for me, and either be my sure hiding place from my cruel foes: they are thy enemies, and my enemies for thy sake. O hide me from them, or strengthen me to suffer cheerfully for thy cause! O let me not shrink in the hour of death! neither let me sin against thee by seeking to save my life on sinful terms.

Here I lay in great composure and quietness of mind, beholding the wonderful works of God in the conduct of his divine providence; for the enemy passed by on both sides of the place where I lay, like sons of Lucife, their father; but he who made them

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held their eyes that they saw me not, although they passed by within pistol-shot of me. I, seeing this, silently said, O but this is like God, this is the finger of God: and this is the work of God; who is now making bare his holy and outstretched arm for me. Surely he is in this place, though I see him not; yet he sees me, and makes me to see the fruitful effects, and glorious operations, of his infinite wisdom, of his infinite power, and of his infinite mercy: Now I get a sight of the wisdom of God, in contriving ways and means for my escape: Here I get a sight of the power of God, in restraining his and my enemies: Here I get a sight of the mercy of God, in hiding me under the covert of his divine encampment; and here I get a sight of the condescendency of God, in removing all my fears, doubts, and disquietments, for now he gives me more peace and serenity of mind, yea much more than at some other times when in no danger at all: Here I get a sight of the emnity that is betwixt the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman: Here, once more, I get a new sight of my great need of peace and reconciliation with God through Christ, to be savingly and effectual-

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ly applied to me, and witnessed to my soul, by the inward testimony of his spirit, and by the outward testimony of his word: and here! I get once more a new sight of my great need to be so far advanced in mortification, as to be denied to myself, and all Time's things, yea to natural life itself. In this place I stayed some hours after the enemy passed me. About half an hour after, they shot a man in the open fields; and about one hour after that, (as I understood afterwards,) they came up to my friends, that left me, who were lain down in the open fields to sleep, one of whom they got into their hands, and beat him cruelly; but for haste they carried him away prisoner, that they might overtake the rest, whom they pursued thirty-three miles that day, but got no more of them. All praise and glory be to Him who often cuts bloody enemies short of finding the enterprises of their hands! Yet one of these, my friend, called William Reid, languished a few weeks and died.

After this, I languished some days, and then was seized with a high and violent fever; I got into a poor man's house; his wife made me a bed in the byre, beside the

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cows, because her husband might not see me, that so he might be free to give his oath that he harboured no whigs. The very next day, one Colonel Buchan, (another of the persecutors,) came with two troops of dragoons to search that country. He, with some more dishorsed, came into the poor cottage where I was lying, and asked the poor woman what men were in this den? She answered, there was no man but a young lad of her own, lying sick at the point of death. Then they came where I was; and he lifted up my head by the hair, with a bended pistol in his right hand. He looked me broad in the face, and said to those who were with him, there is nothing here but a young creature dying, and so let my head fall out of his hand, and went away; but I was then so sick, that I was not capable of fear at the danger, nor of joy at the escape. The poor woman conceived such fear lest she came to trouble on my account, as she would not for any persuasion let me stay any longer; and so I was carried a great way to another poor woman's house. On the ninth day, I got a cool and continued languishing for seven days; during which time I was exercised with such impressions of hell's tor-

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ments as the due desert of sin, and of the joys of heaven as springing forth from the fountain of God's eternal electing love, through Christ the great Mediator, and of the glorious beauty and matchless personal excellency of this Lamb of God, God-man, that I could never make language of, neither durst I ever utter any part of these my thoughts and impressions, because my words were not able to amount to the suitable display of what I felt, both of the one and of the other. But at the seventh day's end, I relapsed a second time into the fever, and continued in it eight days more; all which time, from the beginning of the first fever, I wanted the use of my limbs; and then I got a cool the second time, and recovered the use of my limbs a little. But, after seven or eight days more, I was seized with the fever a third time, wherein I continued ten or twelve days, and then recovered some health. During all this time, from the letter end of April to the latter end of June, I was greatly impressed, and had strong presages or sensations of much affliction attending me, and of a long and troublesome life in this world, and that I would be squeezed through one trouble to another, while in this world, as

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water from one vessel to another. But the consideration of God's supreme irresistible and absolute sovereignty over me, and of his right of dominion over all his creatures, has always had great influence upon me to be silent, and to acquiesce in his disposing will; and these scriptures were very subservient thereunto, Job, xxiii, 13, 14, 15, 16; Chr. xxxviii, 39, 40, 41; Dan. iv, 35; Acts, xvii, 24–28; Matt. x, 29, 30, 31.

After the third cool of my fever, it pleased the wise and kind Lord that I recovered my health and strength in some measure. After which, I travelled about fourteen miles to another place of the country; where I met with several serious Christians, not guilty of a censorious spirit, but much exercised in the realities of religion, with whose converse I was much refreshed and comforted. But one day, as I was walking with some of them, upon a high-way, (which was seldom my custom,) there came up to us a profligate man that knew me, of whom I was afraid. But, behold! a wonder-working God so moulded his disposition at that time, that he only spoke to those who were with me; and, pointing to me with his hand, said, that youth is the son of as religious a man as is

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in Scotland, be kind to the lad for the good man's sake. We all wondered to hear such an ill man speak after such a friendly manner, for he left us without saying any more. But what shall I say? for this, among many other things, are the ancient displays of him, who ever was, is, and ever will be, a present help in the time of need, whereby he gives proof of his being that tender and compassionate friend, that sticks closer than any brother.

After this, I went sixteen miles with some of those good people, to hear a sermon preached by the great Mr. James Renwick, a faithful servant of Christ Jesus, who was a young man, endued with great piety, prudence, and moderation. The meeting was held in a very large desolate moor. The minister appeared to be accompanied with much of his master's presence. He prefaced on the 7th Psalm, and lectured on the 2 Chron. chap. xix; from which he raised a sad applicatory regret, that the rulers of our day were as great enemies to religion as those of that day were friends to it. He preached from Mark, xii, 34, in the forenoon. After explaining the words, he gave thirteen marks of a hypocrite, backed with pertinent and suitable applications. In the afternoon, he gave two

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marks of a sound believer, backed with a large, full, and free offer of Christ to all sorts of perishing sinners that would come and accept of him for their Lord and Saviour, and for their Lord and Law-giver. His method was both plain and well digested, suiting the substance and simplicity of the gospel. This was a great day of the Son of Man to many serious souls, who got a Pisgah view of the Prince of Life, and of that pleasant land that lies beyond the banks of death, Jordan. But, alas! I got my comforts a little lowered this day, upon the reason following:— There came to that meeting some of the worthy gentlemen who came home this year with the Earl of Argyle on his expedition; and they, and some other of our Christian friends, looked shy and cold upon one another, upon the account of some difference in judgment and opinion that was among them; which was matter of sorrow of heart to me now; but much more so afterwards, when I saw the woful consequences thereof; for I quickly observed, that these differences of opinion occasioned much alienation of affection, even among those who were otherwise truly religious; likewise, it served much to eat out the vitals of religion, in the waste of

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much precious time, which was spent in debating and contending, which might otherwise have been very usefully spent, in seeking after and in pursuit of the one thing needful, the better part, which could not have been taken from them. This day, I was seized with the fever a fourth time; and the enemy having gotten notice of that meeting, came towards the place at night; and meeting with some of the people travelling homewards through the moor, they took about fifteen prisoners, who were afterwards, with others, banished to the foreign plantations. All friends left me, and went to shift for themselves, because I was not able to travel so swiftly as they, except only a godly woman, whose name was Mary Wilson: her I desired also to leave me, and shift for her own safety, telling her, I was in a good hand, where I could not miscarry, come life, come death; but she would not part with me: so we travelled about four miles, as I was able to walk, discoursing to one another upon the nature and suitableness of the subject that was preached to us, and what reach of experience we had anent those marks which he laid before us in time of sermon, and what part of them were borne home upon our souls for

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conviction, for confirmation, and for consolation. And all the way that we travelled, the Lord was remarkably kind to us; for, although we were last in the moor, yet there was not one of the enemy came near us, because they were gone in pursuit of those who were first out of the moor. And thus, after we had travelled four miles slowly, my friend brought me to a house, where I lay twenty days, in a very sore and heavy fever; and yet, as at the first three times when in the fever, so at this time, I got nothing to drink but whiged sour milk all the time of my sickness. But, after twenty days, it pleased the Lord, who casteth down and raiseth up, that I recovered, and shifted the best way I might, to escape the enemy's hands, as Providence directed, without any visible danger, till in the month of August; and then, as a friend and I were going into a house to get some meat, immediately there came a troop of the enemy to the house; and as they dismounted their horses at the one door, my friend and I had just as much time as run out at another door, without getting the thing we went for, and into a wood we went, where was a little cave, which my friend and I entered; but we surely

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thought the enemy had seen us, and sill expected that they would come upon us. But here, as many times formerly, the Lord was very kind and gracious to me, for they had not seen us; and so we escaped this danger also, by the kind care of Him who is mighty to save. In this cave we stayed till near midnight; which time was spent in prayer and preparation for death, as the Lord helped us; and then we ventured out to seek some meat; and going to the back-window of a gentleman's house, knocked softly; out at which a gentlewoman whispered softly, and told us there were sixteen or eighteen of the enemy in the house; so she desired us quickly to go back where we were, and she followed us with some meat, of which we were very glad, for we had fasted long. Thus He who feeds the young ravens, fed us in his own season; upon which I called to mind, that he dealt with us as with Israel in the wilderness, whom he tried, proved, and humbled, by suffering them to hunger and thirst, that he might let them see what was in their hearts, and then fed them to the full. Thus the Lord brought me often to the brink of perishing, and then interposed himself by his kind and watchful providence; so that the enemy could

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bring nothing to pass against me but what His holy hand had determined to be done; and, therefore, good ground I have to say, Hitherto hath the Lord helped me. Glory, glory, to his name, because he said to my proud enemies, as he says to the raging waves of the sea, Hitherto shall ye come, and no farther. Therefore, notwithstanding of all the troubles that I met with, which were many and great, for I was never sooner out of one trouble but I was presently overtaken with another; so that I can say of a truth, I was born to trouble, as the sparks fly upwards; and yet, in the midst of all, I had still matter of praise given me, for the Lord always graciously nicked my extremity, making it his opportunity to work my deliverance; for my time of danger was still his time of salvation; and although I had always matter of sorrow, when I looked to the world, and seeing all doors shut, yet, when I looked to the Lord of Hosts, I saw always ground to rejoice; and as I have often occasion given me to think, that never poor creature was so much squeezed with affliction, and oftener cast in death's jaws than I was, yet I am often made to think, that never any were so quickly rescued, raised up, and

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wonderfully delivered than I have been; for, from often-repeated experiences of the Lord's goodness to me, and kind care of me, that I always have good cause to say and sing, that the mercy of the Lord endureth for ever.

At another time, when in company with my father, and some suffering friends, on a Sabbath day, which was spent in the worship of God, a little before the sun set, unexpectedly there came a troop of the enemy to the house next to where we were. This, at first, put some of our company to fear, who said, What shall we do? My father answered, Since there is no way for us to escape, but in the Lord, come, let us sing the praises of God, and let him work his own work; to which the rest consented; and, accordingly, the most part, after calling upon the name of God, the 91st Psalm was sung; and all the time of the singing there was little or no fear observed to be amongst us; but, upon the contrary, they were impressed with great cheerfulness, both of heart and countenance; although we still expected when the enemy would come in amongst us with their slaughter-weapons; for they never spared any from present death whom they found

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in the immediate act of worship. It is not ordinary to sing the triumph before the victory; and yet here it was sung with much soul-satisfaction and inward sensation of consolation. But, behold the kind care and restraining power of our infinitely gracious God, who interposed himself betwixt us and all danger! for, though there was no way of escape for us, being in a plain country, far from any wood or moss, yet the Lord wonderfully provided us with safety. For, when the enemy had searched the three next houses to that house which we were in, they rode quite off, and did not so much as speak where we were. The remembrance of this wonderful deliverance, and of this Sabbath's frame, especially in singing the 91st Psalm, has been strengthening, reviving, and refreshing afterwards to me times out of number. O praise, and O praise for evermore be to him alone, who is the object of all adoration! O angels! praise ye him! O sun! moon! stars! and all ye pieces of the creation, praise him! and, O my soul! bless thou the Lord.

In the 7th of November, my father, with other three, being desired to go and end a controversy in one of their Christian

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societies, raised by a person of a turbulent and divisive spirit; upon which, he left me to the care of kind Providence, and went upon his intended journey. But behold the wonderful disposal of a wonder-working God! for, early on a Sabbath morning, he, and the other three, were seized by forty of the enemy. The night before I went to the Earl of Louden's house, and being concealed all night in one of the office-houses, in my sleep I dreamed of all the passages of the trouble that my father was in. I awoke with much sorrow on my spirit. I immediately arose, and essayed prayer; but, alas! alas! I was both dead, lifeless, and overwhelmed with such a flood of sinking sorrow, that I could do nothing all that day but sigh, to the breaking of my heart. At night, I was taken into the hind's house, where two of the young ladies, viz. Lady Mary and Lady Jean, came and sat down by me; and seeing me in much sorrow, asked if had got any meat. It was told them I could eat none all that day; upon which they opened their skirts, wherein they had meat; and very kindly and affectionately they both urged me to eat; but I could not. They asked what was the matter with me. I told their lady-

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ships I knew not; but I was waiting till the Lord, in his providence, should send me an interpreter; at which the young ladies burst forth in tears, and one of them says, Then I must be that sorrowful interpreter; for, says she, early this morning, forty of the enemy came upon your father, George Woodburn, John Ferguson, and Peter Gemuel, near to Finnick-kirk. They have killed the other three, and your father has received seven wounds, and is taken prisoner, and he is this night in Kilmarnock tolbooth. At the hearing of which sad news I was struck to the heart; but the honourable and worthy ladies were hearty sympathizers to me, and did all they could to comfort me; but I could not take any notice of what they said or did, for such was my sorrow, that words could have no weight with me. I arose immediately, and went out to the fields; but kind Providence ordered the matter so, that though very dark, yet I met with an eminent Christian, William Woodburn, my father's much honoured friend, who counselled me to submit to, and acquiesce in, the will of God, who will be a father to the fatherless; and although your father and my brother be our near and dear friends,

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yet they are not too dear to suffer for Christ, and seal his noble and honourable cause with their blood; and, therefore, we are to be still, and know that he is God who hath done this thing. Upon this blessed advice and seasonable counsel, the weight of my burden was much taken off, my sorrow alleviated, and all fretting at the sad dispensation prevented. I spent a part of this night in looking to the Lord, that my father might be remarkably countenanced and strengthened to be faithful to the death; anent which thing I had much freedom and satisfaction. Yet there was one part of my fears I could not get over, which was, lest his body should be quartered, like worthy Rathillet, Jerviswood, and Rumbold; and, indeed, the enemy had it in their view, still clamouring, all the time that he was amongst their hands, that he should be quartered quick. But, behold the over-ruling and restraining power of God graciously displayed in my father's favours! for they could not stretch their impotent malice and cruelty to no greater height than strangling with a cord; which they performed upon him on the 4th of the next month, for no other crime but his faithful adherence to

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God's work and interest, and against the defections, sins, and apostacies of our day.

Now, for my own satisfaction and imitation, I here touch at a few things concerning my father, which I have observed as instructive to myself. From the days of his youth he always wore a small pocket-bible upon him, full of marginal notes, which he made great use of in reading on all occasions. As also, from his youth, he often retired to secret prayer, where he spent many hours of the day, and sometimes whole nights. He was long under heavy soul exercise anent his own salvation, which made him keep at the utmost distance from all things he knew was sinful. He was a close walker with God, and opposed much the sins of his heart and nature, and the sins and backslidings of the times wherein he lived. He was very tender of the blood of his enemies; one instance whereof, amongst many, is this:—Three of the enemy came upon him where he was writing. He quickly catched up his sword and a pair of pistols, and then spoke to the enemy, and said, Gentlemen, beware of what you do; for if any of you three offer to draw a sword or cock a pistol against me, I will send you all to eter-

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nity; and, poor souls, I am afraid that you are very ill prepared for it; but if you have a mind to lose your lives, you may fight, for I will not be taken with you. He spoke to them of the wrath of God, of the sin of their way of living, and of their danger of hell. He drew his sword, and cocked both his pistols; at the sight of which they drew off; and when they came to their garrison, as was afterwards told us, their officers threatened them for not killing him. They answered, they were much afraid of his words, but more when they saw his great broad-sword. He could never endure the least thing that looked like a countenancing of the enemies of God, for he was a close adherer unto the plea of the Remonstrators; for which he met with temptations, afflictions, and reproaches, both from enemies and false friends. Notwithstanding that, he studied much the spirit of meekness and moderation; but, as a flint, set his face in the cause of God against all storms, because he had counted the cost, and laid his account with the worst. From whence it did appear, that he was endued of God with a particular gift of suffering for Christ and his cause, Phil. i, 29: Rev. ii, 10, 13, 20: iii, 8, 10: Heb. x, 35. He

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was an exact observer of the Sabbath, keeping it holy unto the Lord, rising earlier on that day than any other; and although he was a man of strong affections to his children, yet he kept them under a strict discipline, as far as his suffering circumstances would allow, and took them often with him to secret prayer, for the discharge of which duty he carefully instructed them, and was an example to them therein himself; and, as for family worship, he never omitted it, but when persecution cut him short; and I often heard him say, that he had observed from his youth, that that family never prospered with the blessing of God, who omitted his worship evening and morning. He was strong and healthy, and of a bold undaunted spirit; yet if he was at any time touched with sickness, he was as meek as a lamb, saying, It is the will of God that he should feel a little of that bitter which many are long afflicted with. He could not endure that any persons should boast of their religion, still exhorting all not to be high minded, but to pass the time of our sojourning here in fear; saying, I love well to see people humbly live up to their profession, and be truly concerned about the life and power of

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godliness. These he loved dearly, and encouraged all he could; but those who seemed to be nominal and formal in their religion, he much pitied and lamented, and often took occasion to warn them of their danger.

Some months before his death he enjoyed much of the Lord's strengthening and comforting presence; and although he was very close and reserved, using little freedom before others, yet it was visible to those that were with him, when he was conversing, singing psalms, reading, and praying, so that many of his intimate friends concluded he could not live, nor be long out of heaven. One instance is.—On a Sabbath morning, when some were met for the worship of God privately, while he was seeking a blessing on the portion of scripture to be read and sung, and for much of the Lord's manifested presence to be with them, fitting them for the duty of the day, there was such a shining lustre in his countenance, and such powerful weight in the words and arguments that he used with the Lord, as made all present weep, and some of them in danger of fainting under their frame; which frame continued with him and them through all the parts of the duty, with a great gale of soul enlarge-

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ment; and then he retired to secret prayer, as his manner was. After he was gone out from the rest, some of them said, We never saw the like of this; the Lord is fitting this worthy man for some great trial, in that he gives him so much of himself. He was very tender of God's glory: he could not endure to hear any of the truths of the Christian religion opposed; and he could not endure that sin should be excused or extenuated, still saying, that he that will not be faithful in little, will never be faithful in that which is much; and he that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is not fit for the kingdom of God; for it is a making inquiry after vows; and if any destroyed what they once built, they thereby made themselves transgressors; and if any regarded iniquities in their hearts, the Lord would not hear their prayers. He could never endure to hear any religious person's name reproached, or exclaimed against, upon the account of weakness of parts; and as he was tender of truth, in hair and hoof, so he was likewise very tender of the name of others, in whom he saw the least of the image of God.

He and I stayed three days and three nights, a little before he was taken, in an

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old waste house, which time he most part spent in prayer. He insisted much that the Lord would glorify himself in us, by us, and upon us; and that he would make us entirely his own, and set us wholly apart for himself by a distinguishing act and work of his sovereign grace and mercy. He had some presages of his approaching death and martyrdom. Two instances of which are.—First, one morning, as he retired to the fields for secret duty, there fell two drops of blood on his Bible when he was reading; and looking if he could perceive from whence the blood came, he saw the appearance of a dragoon, mounted on a black horse, with a drawn sword in his hand. My father, supposing it was a real dragoon, drew his sword, and asked him what he was for? or whom he would have? Whether the apparition answered him or not, he would not tell; but after a little it evanished out of his sight, and he continued long at secret prayer. The second instance is.—The Sabbath night se'ennight before he was taken, as he, I, and three more, were travelling, it being exceeding dark, no wind, but a thick small rain, and no moon, for that was not her season, behold! suddenly

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the clouds clave asunder above our heads, from the south-west to north-east, and there sprung forth a light, as bright as that of the sun, when shining at noon-day ; yea, it was much more pleasant, though very amazing and astonishing ; which light continued about the space of two minutes. We all heard a noise, and were much surprised, saying one to another, What may that mean? But he spake none, only he uttered three deep and heavy groans. W. W———, his friend, asked him what it might mean? He said, We know not well at present, but within a little we shall know better ; yet we have a more sure word of prophecy, to which we would do well to take heed; and then he groaned and said, As for me, I am ready to live or die for him, as he in his providence shall call me to it, and bear me through in it ; and although I have suffered much from prelates and false friends these twenty-one years, yet now I would not for a thousand worlds I had done otherwise ; and if the Lord spare me, I will be more zealous for his precious truths ; but if not, I am ready to seal his cause with my blood, for I have longed for it these sixteen years, and it may be ere long I will get it to do.

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Welcome be his will; and if he help me through with it, I shall praise him to all eternity.

After he was taken, as aforesaid, he wrote from prison to us, in his last letter, that the Lord was graciously pleased to represent, so lively, the sufferings of Christ to him all the time he was amongst his enemies hands, that he was no more afraid, nor dismayed, than he had been amongst and talking with his own children. For such was the Lord's wonderful condescendency to him, in bearing him up, and reconciling him to the cross for Christ's sake, that he rejoiced much under it, professing the Lord had made an honourable choice for him; for, says he, I was always of the judgment, that when the Lord should deliver me up to my enemies hands, it were better to fight it out to death, then yield myself a prisoner, lest the fear of death should make me decline suffering, and deny the truth, and so have denied my sweet Lord and his persecuted way. But glory for evermore be unto my exalted Redeemer, the noble Plant of Renown, for he hath seen fit that I should glorify him on a scaffold, and embrace a cord for his sake. O ye, my children, help me to praise him

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for calling me to it, and furnishing me for it. And all ye, my dear friends, and Christian companions, help me to praise him for calling me to it, and furnishing me for it. What distinguishing love and free favour is this, that I, who was an enemy to him, yet me, even unworthy me, has he freely pardoned of all my great and manifold sins, and reconciled me to himself by the blood of his dear Son, and now hath honoured me to be a dying witness for him, and his despised cause and interest! O that I had many souls and tongues to praise him to all the ages of eternity for what he hath done to me and for me! O my suffering friends, welcome and embrace Christ's desirable cross! for I assure you, from my own experience, that the revenues and sweet incomes of Christ's beautiful and honourable cross, doth abundantly more than defray all the expenses of the same; and if ye will take it up honestly, in his strength he will bear you and it both, and pay you the wages as if you had done all the work. I can assure you he hath done so to me; for he hath not given me one challenge, nor frown, since I fell in the enemies hands; but, on the contrary, he hath given me more of himself than

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I am well able to bear or hold up under. O rich cross of Christ! O sweet cross of Christ! O light, and O lovely cross of Christ! I now write it under my hand, that it is so of a truth, and within a few hours shall seal it with my blood. O time, fly! fly away! O sweet and lovely Lord! come quickly, and take me home to the full and everlasting embraces of thy whole self. Amen. Thus he concludes his last letter; and, accordingly, suffered martyrdom on the 4th of December 1685.

The two gentlemen, his friends, that attended him on the scaffold, both declared to me, that the impressions of his death would never wear off them as long as they lived, he died so courageously, and had so much of the Lord's powerful and manifested presence accompanying him in that last action of his life. Thus, at last, he got that crown of martyrdom that he so long thirsted after; and, through grace, sealed that noble cause with his blood that he had so long contended for, and so dearly loved, that he would not part with hair nor hoof, being strengthened thereunto by the strong hands of the mighty God of Jacob, who was the sword and shield of his excellency: to whom be

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praise. Amen. There were nine of his nearest relations did all seal the same cause with their blood, betwixt 1679 and 1685, inclusive, viz. Thomas Nisbet, James Nisbet, Joseph Nisbet, John Brown, elder, John Brown, younger, James Wood, Joseph Gibson, Joseph Law, elder, and Joseph Law, younger, who all walked in the fear of God, and were true lovers of his covenanted work of reformation; and my father was the tenth of my nearest relations that suffered death within the compass of seven years, to seal that noble cause with their blood; and so my dear youngest brother and I were stripped naked of our relations, and left as orphans, (destitute of all paternal or relative care,) to the care of Him in whom the fatherless findeth mercy, who has always been to us a present help in the time of need; because of which, we have good cause to say, that though friends die, and leave us, yet God abideth forever, in whom are all our springs, and from whose all-sufficiency proceedeth every good thing that our needy condition requires; therefore, let us sing, that the mercy of the Lord endureth for ever: to whom be glory and praise. Amen.

Now, this whole year was one continued

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lash, and then a kiss, now a frown, and then a smile, and now a trial, and then a deliverance, conveyed to me by the kind and skilful hand of wise and unerring Providence, who knows best how and when to wound and when to heal, to give and withhold, cast down and raise up, and cause the nether-springs run dry, that he may make way for the upper springs to run plentifully. Upon which consideration, I should be wretchedly ungrateful if I should not sing of mercy as well as of judgment, because of the visible displays of his shining attributes and glorious perfections of God, which were extended on all occasions in favours of poor unworthy me; and, therefore, here I acknowledge, that I do lie under a weighty obligation to make a thankful return to the glory of his unspeakable goodness, that, through the whole of this year, I was so frequently borne up, supported, and mercifully rescued out of the devouring jaws of death, and deadly enemies, that every one of these attributes, in their turn, and often the whole of them together, did conspire my safety, and remarkably shed abroad their benign influences upon me and for me, that I do with much cheerfulness confess, I was ever

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under the influence of infinite wisdom, which contrived ways and means for my escape, Isaiah, xxix, 29: and I was ever under the influence of his infinite power, which was ever on work to deliver me, and set me in safety; upon which I must cry out, O Lord God! who is a strong and faithful God, who is like unto thee? Ps. lxxxix, 8: and I do confess, that I was ever well secured under the influence of infinite goodness and mercy, Lam. iii, 32, 33: Ps. cvi, 44: Isaiah, xxx, 18: Isaiah, xliii, 1, 2: lvii, 16.

Upon the receipt and remembrance of which remarkable and wonderful deliverances, each of which bore the stamp of the finger of God, and was so visibly typed and impressed with his mercy and long-suffering patience exercised to me, that I hereby charge myself with the thankful remembrance of them all as long as I live; and even bear in mind, and be in the conscientious practice of the following remarks and reflections to the glory of the God of all my mercies, still acknowledging him to be God, even the most high God, who performeth all things for me, even poor unworthy me, who is less than the least of all his mercies.—I charge myself,

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from a sense of my lost state and condition, to be ever stretching forth from myself, ever seeking to be savingly acquainted with God, in the face of Christ Jesus, and that he may be ever revealing more and more of himself unto me, as the alone fountain of all my happiness, both as to temporals, spirituals, and eternals; I still acknowledging, with the whole soul, that it is by him I live, move, and have my being, and that without him I can do nothing but sin.—I charge myself to be ever searching into the intrinsic value and true worth of religion, and to seek after, that I may enjoy, the sweet fruits and rich incomes of that holy religion, upon the account of which I am so often in danger of being thrust into eternity by a violent and bloody death, and upon the account of which I am losing the nearest and dearest of my relations.—I charge myself to behold, adore, and admire at the wise disposal of God, who maketh every occurrence of providence jump exactly to the carrying on of his eternal counsels; for my father was to fall in the enemies hands, to seal the truth with his blood; and I was to be reprieved for a while, and, therefore, was not with him when he was taken by the enemy, the Lord so order-

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ing it, because it was his will.—I charge myself before the Lord, to be much exercised in subduedness of spirit and self-denial to my natural life, to my dear relations, and to all sublunary things, and to be always in a readiness, in the Lord's strength, to fall a sacrifice by the hands of my bloody enemies, who are skilful to destroy.—I charge myself before the Lord, to be a true son of Zion, and a hearty mourner for her desolation, and a kindly sympathizer with all the Lord's people, who are suffering upon the account of their adherence to his work and interest.—I charge myself before the Lord, to keep up a deep resentment and holy indignation at all the wickedness committed in the land. O! that my head were a fountain of tears, that I might weep night and day for the desolations of Zion.—I charge myself before the Lord, to be grieved for the contentions and divisions that are amongst his suffering remnant; and because, alas! many of our ways are not agreeable to our baptismal and national engagements.—I charge myself before the Lord, since he has removed my parents and near relations from being any part of the guides of my youth, to be making much use of his word, as the only rule of my faith and prac-

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tice, and to acknowledge him in all my ways, in laying every case and concern before him, by fasting and prayer, that I may have the inward testimony of his spirit accompanying the outward testimony of his word, anent what is duty and what is sin, not excluding the sound advice of my Christian friends; and herein to exercise myself with a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.—I charge myself before the Lord, to be much exercised in employing Christ, the great Mediator, the true trysting-place betwixt a just and holy God and lost sinners, for justification, for sanctification, for final perseverance in grace, and for complete redemption from sin and wrath; and likewise to employ him daily and hourly for strength of grace, frame and furniture, for whatever is called for at my hand, whether it be to live to him or die for him.—I charge myself before the Lord, continually to bear in mind, that the short thread of my life is but a riding-post, from my first formation in the womb, to the confines of a never-ending eternity; and that all the way thither I am to glorifiy God, by libelling all the actions of my life to the honour of his great name, and to work out my own salvation with fear and

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trembling; and likewise, all the way thither I am to lay my account with a complication of squeezing trials, yet so as not to cast away my confidence in the Lord, but run my race in the exercise of faith, patience, humility, and submission, keeping my waiting eyes still on Christ, the fair, fair noble Plant of Renown, the author and finisher of faith, and sure anchor-hold for time and eternity. I charge myself before the Lord, to bear in mind, that I cannot point to any of all Time's enjoyments, but what will prove vain, take wings, fly hence, and be no more, even the most dear and needfullest of them; but that the eternity, to which I am fast posting, it shall never, never, never end; therefore, I am to prepare for that endless eternity of tranquillity, perfect peace, and felicity; and I am ever to shun all the sinful ways that lead to an eternity of endless torment, woe, woe, woe, and misery, for evermore.

I charge myself before the Lord, while sailing on this stormy and tempestuous sea of time, through innumerable snares, trials, and temptations, to bless and praise him who is the God of all my mercies; and O my soul! bless and praise the Lord for the benefit of his sacred word contained in the Old and New

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Testaments, in which is unfolded all that is to be believed concerning God, and also what is to be practised by me all my life as a true Christian exercised unto godliness. O my soul! bless and praise the Lord, that I was born of godly parents, who did their utmost to instruct me in the fear and service of God, and were examples to me therein, by cleaving to the Lord and his way with full purpose of heart. O my soul! bless and praise the Lord, that I was born in a land where the glad tidings of the everlasting gospel are published and pressed with so much purity and plainness. O my soul! bless and praise the Lord, that he is from day to day giving me new discoveries of my lost state and condition by reason of sin, and that he is ever making me to see that the glorious Lord Jesus Christ is the only proper balm for my deadly wounds, and the only all-sufficient remedy for all my desperate diseases. O my soul! bless and praise the Lord, that I have God to go to through Christ in all my distresses, who hath promised his Holy Spirit to make me able and willing to make my requests known to him by prayer and supplication. O my soul! bless and praise the Lord, for his kind and watchful providence over me, in that he vi-

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sibly prevented my losing my life at all the places following, viz. when amongst the hurry of the enemies cruel searches at my father's house, at the Bennel-hill, at Gelt-hill, at Garclagh-hill, at the Castle of Kyle, at Dornel, at Corseon-hill, at Greenock-mains, at Cargilloch, at Wallaceton, at Cubb's-craigs, at Barlonochie, at the Heilish-wood, at Hairstocks, at Carnduff-hill, at Frier-Midden-moor, at Spangna-glen, at Hoggan-burn, at Caims-camb, at Lead-loch, at Crossford, at Middton, at Burn-house, and at Louden-wood, at all which places I was in imminent and visible danger; yea, within an inch of loosing my life by the bloody enemy; and yet, watchful and kind Providence was at all these times and places conspicuously on work for my protection and preservation; besides innumerable other unforeseen dangers which I narrowly escaped, being very often but newly parted from others who immediately fell into the enemies hands, the Lord so ordering it. O my soul! keep all these things still in remembrance, to the glory of God, with a grateful acknowledgment of all the steps of his kind condescendency in favours of poor unworthy me, who was preserved remarkably at all

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those places above specified. Bless the Lord, O my soul! who trysted my lot to be embarked with his suffering people, who bear his image and keep his way, and not with the wicked and profane, who bear the image of the wicked one, and are despising the way of the Lord, and are persecuting him in his members. O my soul! bless and praise the Lord, that notwithstanding he hath taken away all my blood relations, and notwithstanding that the enemy got all my patrimony, yet the Lord hath graciously fulfilled his good promise to me, in supplying me well with food and raiment. O my soul! bless the Lord for all these things, and from henceforward, through grace, exercise a humble dependance on him for all; and be ever ready to return unto him the due rent of praise, worship, fear, and love, under the receipt of all; and to his infinitely great and highly exalted name be glory for ever. Amen.

My bitter lamentations, because of the dissensions and divisions that arose this year among the suffering remnant; which divisions were begun, and industriously augmented and handed about, on the one side, by secret enemies and self-seeking temporizers; and,

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on the other side, too much opposed, and unwisely resented, by some hot and inconsiderate persons of rash tempers, whom I many times addressed as follows:—O! my dear Christian friends, far, far be it from me to blame or condemn any of you for walking up to your light; yea, I should rather rejoice to see every one occupying the talent that the Lord hath given them to trade with, till he come again; and because years should speak and teach wisdom, therefore I should hold my peace, being a child, were it not that the grief of my soul wants a vent to you, my dear friends, while my heart is surcharged with sorrow, to see some of you differing much in judgment from one another; in that which one calls light, another calls darkness; what one calls truth, another calls error; and what one calls duty, another calls sin; in the meanwhile, carrying frowns in your angry brows at one another, and by sharp words spout fire at one another. O! alas! my friends, this ought not to be so. Where is the spirit of meekness, self-denial, mutual forbearance, and lowliness of mind, that all should be exercised with, each one preferring another before themselves, and each one loving another as themselves? Is not

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the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace a pleasant field, large enough for every one of you to act your part to the glory of God, in working out your generation work with much faithfulness and constancy, and your salvation work with much fear, in his strength, and loving your neighbour as yourself, without dividing one from another, and without condemning one another. Alas! are not our breaches already wide as the sea? Why, then, should we be such great fools as to add more fuel to our flame? but far rather every one of us suspect our own opinion of things, and bring them to the standard of God, the law, and the testimony, to see if they be of the right stamp or not; and whether we ourselves are acting, in all we do and say, from a right principle, in a right manner, and to a right end, rather than suspect, and censure our friend; not that I am for denying any the use of a discretative judgment, but I would first have every one to begin with themselves. Why do we not look twice into our own bosoms, when but once to our neighbours? Why are w not often eyeing our own monstrous corruptions, and the frequent misgivings of our own treacherous hearts? Why are we not striv-

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ing to take the bulky beam of foolish miscarriages out of our own eye, before we seek to take the mote out of our brother's eye? For, alas! are there not, even with the best of us, sins, great and many, against the Lord our God. O! then, why will not every one take with their own faults? and let that time which is spent in reproaching one another, and debating and contending with one another, be spent in searching out every one his own sins, confess and mourn over them, before the Lord speedily forsake them; and in crying mightily unto the Lord, that he would return, and bless us abundantly with much power, light, life, and unity amongst ourselves; and that he would be unto us a healer of breaches.

O! my dear Christian friends, let us look back to the practice of the Lord's people, in all ages of the church, and we shall see that they never stated separation from their brethren upon the account of differences of judgment and practice, except where the sins of error, defection, and backsliding from the Lord and his way, were wilfully persisted in, contrary to clear truth, and an express command; but, rather, the strong bore with the weak, pitied their infirmities, and dealt

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with them in the gospel spirit of meekness; knowing this, that every one's light, gifts, and capacities, neither graces, even saving, were never all of one size, but some more, some less, according to the measure given them of the Lord, for the edifying and completing of his mystical body, the church, which, in some sense, resembles that of a human body, where there are fingers and toes, as well as legs, arms, head, and heart. Therefore, all you self-seeking temporizers, as ye would not be found to fight against God, cease, cease, and meddle no more, to the scorn and reproach of those worthies, who are for a strict way of witnessing for Christ's precious truth, so as not to lose hair nor hoof, if God honour them to resist unto blood, striving against sin, he making them to overcome by the blood of the Lamb. I would not, yea, I durst not, for many worlds, be found to think, speak, or act against them, lest innocent blood were laid to my charge, and lest they rose up in judgment against me at the great day. How terrible a thing will it be for any to be found with the blood of the saints in their skirts, when God comes to make inquisition for the blood of his faithful martyrs? And O how wicked a thing is it to be

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found guilty of condemning those who are approven of God? And, on the other side, O! all ye hot, inconsiderate, and unadvised persons, cease, cease, why should the fire of your blind zeal lead you to condemn those, who are for a more enlarged way of contending for truth, and are willing to venture and lose their all, while standing up for liberty and property in particular, or the protestant interest in general? For, indeed, God hath this year highly honoured some eminent persons this way; and should we sit and speak against our mother's sons, and deny them the honour of martyrdom, (who sealed his cause with their blood,) because they could not come up to the light and length of others in point of judgment? This is to make our measure the rule, and not God's measuring line of his sanctuary. This is to dishonour those whom God hath highly honoured. This is to set up ourselves for judges of what is matter of conscience to others; this be far from us. But let us rather turn our prejudices at others, to self-judging and close examining of ourselves and our own ways; and, in the meanwhile, use the mantle of charity, and spirit of meekness, to those who cannot come our length on

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either hand; knowing, that this is our state of imperfection, wherein some are strong men in Christ, some are young men, and some are babes.

Those united with the worthy Mr. Renwick, in a general correspondence, are many of them great and good men, eminently godly and highly favoured of the Lord, to witness a good confession for Christ's persecuted cause and interest, and, therefore, ought to be highly respected of by us; and likewise the Right Honourable the Earl of Argyle, and many of those worthy patriots that joined with him in that unsuccessful expedition, were also highly favoured and much honoured of God, to seal their declared adherence to the protestant interest with their dearest blood, who ought also to be had in great esteem by us. O! how unbecoming a thing is it for any of the professors of religion to be found throwing dirt upon any of those noble cloud of witnesses, noble patriots, and worthy confessors, though differing a little in their judgment as to the state of their testimony, seeing all of them are right in the main fundamentals of the Christian religion! O! tell not our divisions in Gath, neither publish them in the streets of Askelon! Let

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every one of us strive to go before another, as examples to one another of faith, love, humility, zeal, and condescendency; seeking by all means to be reconciled to God in Christ, reconciled to his truth, reconciled to his cross, and reconciled to one another in the strongest bonds of Christian love; loving all in whom we see any thing of the image of God with the tenderest of love, counting them the excellent ones of the earth, in whom we much delight. O! my dear friends, whom I love much, allow me the freedom to tell you with a sore heart, and a weeping soul, upon the account of our divisions, that I am more than convinced, that the offered mercy of God in Christ, held forth in the gospel, is loudly calling upon us to love and concord among ourselves. I am more nor convinced, that the wrath and anger of a jealous God, which is now poured forth against us, for our great and manifold sins and provocations, are crying aloud upon all of us to love and harmony among ourselves.

Is not the cruel rage and fury that our persecuting enemies are exercising upon us, crying aloud that we be united in the Lord, and at pe ce one with another? Doth not our afflicted, low, and bleeding condition,

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cry aloud upon us to be united in the Lord, and at peace amongst ourselves? Doth not the scripture clearly and abundantly warn us, not to divide and bite one another, lest we be consumed one of another? Doth not the blood of martyrs on scaffolds, fields, and seas, cry aloud on us to be at peace and love with one another? And O my soul! cry aloud unto the Lord, that all that name the name of Christ Jesus may be helped, through grace, to depart from this iniquity of reproaching and speaking evil of one another, and of becoming stumbling-blocks to one another. Alas! how lamentable a matter is it to see one saint allowing himself to be a scourge to another saint! And that this, my complaint and humble request, may be the better understood, let these scriptures be seriously considered and suitably applied; Romans, xii, 17, 18: xiv, 1, 2, 3, 4: xvi, 17: xiv, 19, 22: 1 Cor. i, 10: iii, 4: Phil. iii, 18: Eph. iv, 3, 4, 5, 6, 29, 30, 31: Heb. xii, 14: Ps. cxxxiii, 12: Col. iii, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16: 2 Chr. xxx, 1–21. O Lord, make thy people as one stick in thy hand: turn all our heart-burnings at others to heart-breakings for our own sins; and quench the fire of our divisions by the flames of brotherly love.

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Help us to consider, that grace doth not fire the heart with passions, but with love and compassion. Help thou us, by grace, to keep the word of thy patience; and keep thou all of us in the hour of temptation wherewith now we are sharply tried; and send forth thy light and thy truth, to lead and guide us in thy way everlasting, thou enabling us to steer a straight course betwixt all right and left hand extremes. All sufficient God! be unto us the strength of our heart and our portion forever. Even so come, O Lord Jesus Christ come quickly, and abide with us. Amen.

1686, when in the seventeenth year of my age,—Now, as the former year, left me with one trouble and trial trampling upon the heels of another, leaving me no airt to look to but upward to unseen All-sufficiency; so did this year meet with me. Near the beginning of it, as I was joining in worship one day with six of the suffering remnant, some of whom had offensive arms, and two of our number did act therewith so rashly and inconsiderately, that henceforward I had no more peace nor satisfaction to stay any longer in that part of the country, but removed a great way off, where I remained a long time,

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and grappled with many difficulties. In this place I was much solicited to join with a Christian society of the persecuted remnant, which met once a-week, in the night-time, for the worship of God, to which at last I was persuaded to yield; and we who met at that occasion, for fear of the enemy, were obliged to come and go from the place of our meeting under cloud of night, and one of us ordinarily prayed by the way, turn about. And one night, as I was at prayer, we were suddenly surprised with a great light: the rest saw it, and the time of its continuance; but when I saw it, I closed my eyes, and cried to the Lord thus, or to this purpose, O! give us much saving illumination and gracious manifestations of thyself, but no vision or delusion. At the mentioning of which it quickly disappeared, as those of our company told me; and I was ever of the mind that it was Satanical; and, as formerly, at many other times, so here, I was much carried out in prayer, that the strong and mighty God of Jacob would hasten on his way, and break the yoke of the bloody persecutors, and grant a reviving to his work and people; and in this I would not, yea, I could not, take any nay-say. And from this,

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by the bye, I have often observed, that when the Lord gives a heart to pray, he gives an ear to hear, and a hand to help and deliver; but he is not to be limited to times, because he hath all times and seasons in his own hand.

After this, I again renewed my personal covenant with more deliberation, and, as I thought, suitable preparation, than formerly; and wrote it out in a fair copy, and put my name to it; but afterwards, finding my treacherous heart and sinful nature altogether misserve me to live up with mind and soul to the terms thereof; for finding, after the highest spring-tide of a promising frame and disposition, there ordinarily succeeds the lowest ebb of unframedness and indisposition, accompanied with sore temporal afflictions, upon which I laid aside my formal covenant, and concluded there was an absolute necessity for me to be making continual application to the blood of Christ Jesus and spirit of his grace, for daily washing away of the guilt, power, and filth of sin; and that this was an exercise which I am ever to put in practice, whether my frame and disposition be good or bad: and I am ever to close with the great Mediator, as party-contractor with God the Father, in room of

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lost sinners, as both ends of grace's well-ordered covenant to and for me, or else I am forever undone, notwithstanding of my often and frequent surrender to Him, covenant ways, under the advantage of a fresh gale of soul enlargement: So there is no resting for me on a frame how large and heavenly soever, but alone on the fountain of free grace, treasured up in the Lord Jesus Christ; and, therefore, I am ever to be in the exercise of a humble believing application to him, and firm reliance upon him, in the use of the means of grace, leaving the success to him in whom are all my springs; and in this I am to act as a wise mariner at sea, who improves the fresh gales while they continue; and when storms and contrary winds come, yet he doth not give over, nor all up for lost, but steers on his course as he may, to the best advantage.

I read much in the scripture at this time, and afterwards, concerning the people of God; from which I observed, that it is no new thing for them to be exercised with variety of long and sore afflictions, trials, and temptations in their souls, bodies, and all concerns belonging thereunto, they having the devil, the world, and the flesh, for

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their great and implacable enemies; enemies that they are no way able to grapple with, far less conquer, but in the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the power of his omnipotence; for this being their militant state, it is their time of weeping and sowing in tears, fighting and resisting; and this is what they must lay their account to be exercised with, more or less, as a holy and wise God sees fit, until his time come to translate them home to the kingdom of his glory, where their work then shall be to rejoice, and enjoy a state of sweet peace and perfect and perpetual felicity, without being any more interrupted or molested by sin, Satan, and a wicked world, or any of the woful consequences following therefrom. That the great and wise Jehovah, while he sees meet to detain his people in this wilderness, hath been pleased graciously to suit his people's suffering circumstances, and often repeated trials, with large and suitable encouragements for faith, patience, and experience to feed and rest on, held forth to them, in many great and precious promises, wherewith the whole book of God is wonderfully decked and bespangled, as with precious pearls and sweet cups of kind consolation, from the beginning

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of Genesis to the end of the Revelation, the whole mass whereof is as a tree of life springing forth from the bosom of the infinite mercy of God, and bowing from thence downward to elect sinners; the branches whereof are richly laden with twelve manner of fruits for refreshing cordials, to refresh and solace the fainting and weary passengers in their journey home to their Father's kingdom. Upon the receipt of which soul-enlarging consolations, they will sometimes arrive to such a height of holy boldness and assured confidence, as to cry out, Nothing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus; neither death nor life, principalities nor powers, things present nor things to come, saying, O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory?

In reading the four Evangelists, I observed something of the wonderful contrivance of the infinite wisdom and unparalleled love of God, in sending his Son to be a day's-man for making peace and reconciliation betwixt a holy and righteous God and unholy sinful sinners; and, as formerly, in the promises, so now, this wise mysterious contrivance was wonderfully displayed in the incarnation and

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tragical sufferings that the Son of God underwent, from his conception in the Virgin's womb to his resurrection and ascension to glory. I observed, that the history of the four Evangelists is richly bespangled and interlaced with a continued strain of holy and heavenly doctrine, unspeakably necessary to be closed with and embraced, both for a ground for faith to rest on, and a rule of practice. The divinity and infallible certainty of all which was wonderfully attested and borne witness to by the visible rays of his excellent majesty, which darted forth through the vail of his humanity while he wrought so many supernatural miracles, each of which loudly proclaimed him to be the Messiah, God-man, to whom all power in heaven and earth is committed, so discernibly, that all might cry out, This is the Son of God! this is the King of Israel, who doth all things well! He makes the dead to live, the blind to see, the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak, &c. O my soul! methinks I stand on Jordan's banks, beholding the glorious trinity of persons displaying a banner of redeeming love and everlasting good-will to lost sinners, when the Spirit is descending like a dove, and a voice comes from the ex-

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cellent majesty, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him. What cost and pains to make elect sinners eternally happy! O love unfathomable! love unquenchable! and love without compare! And O my soul! methinks I stand at the cross of Christ on Mount Calvary! beholding a wonderful convocation of contrary parties, each one acting their part. There is infinite justice and righteousness demanding satisfaction of the Lamb of God for the sins of the elect! and there is the infinite love of God engaging him to give full and complete satisfaction! and there is the infinite power of God supporting his humanity in that nonsuch undertaking! and there are all the sins of the elect presenting themselves as the crime to be satisfied for! and there is the devils and wicked men raging furiously to help forward the execution, and as they designed to frustrate the great work of man's redemption! and there is the infinite wisdom and unaccountable sovereignty of God ordering the whole matter, in a sinless way, to his own everlasting glory! and that the crown might be set on free grace's head for evermore, to the endless and unconceivable consolation of all his elect sons and daugh-

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ters; and to the endless confusion of the devils, and all wilful rejectors of this dear-bought salvation.

Now I read much anent the sacrifices, tabernacles, temple, ceremonials, washings, and Levitical services under the law, in and by all which Christ, the antitype, was wonderfully, though mysteriously, shadowed forth as the great propitiatory sacrifice, that was in the fulness of time to be offered up to make atonement for the sins of the elect; without which atonement they would have been exposed to an endless burning in wrath's fiery flames for evermore, and so have been cut off for ever from all hopes of ever obtaining mercy; but, on the contrary, been closely sealed up, by the strong hand of God's revenging justice, in utter darkness, amongst the midst of devils and damned reprobates, whose presence and company now are intolerably frightful and loathsome beyond expression or conception: But O! how much more shall it be so in hell, where the furious rebukes of a holy and sin-revenging God shall set the gnawing edge of their own consciences ever awake, to be a never-dying worm within them, through that eternity which shall never have an end! Upon all

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which considerations, how great and manifold are the obligations that the poor lost sons and daughters of Adam lie under, who win to any measure of a well-grounded hope of enjoying union and communion with God through Christ, and of escaping deserved wrath, through and by the virtue of his dear-bought salvation and redemption, to bless, praise, extol, and magnify this highly exalted God, in Christ Jesus, even in the midst of their sorest trials and heaviest afflictions that can befal them in time, they justifying him as righteous, under all, and still to cry out, Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the sins and transgressions of his people, and retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy? O my soul! how vastly and infinitely extensive must the kind compassions of redeeming love be, that inclined the everlasting Jehovah to enter upon such a wonderful undertaking, when the Father's equal was well content in swimming through a red sea of troubles, and of swimming through a raging sea of wrath, for the recovery of elect sinners? This was love that hath neither brim nor bottom! Here is matter of everlasting wonder and admiration

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for angels and men, through all eternity, to behold the outstretched arms of love and omnipotence, travelling in his strength, with dyed garments, diving to the bottom of the bitter gulf of unmixed wrath, to fetch from thence a company of forlorn and mad self-destroyers. All ye glorious hosts of heaven, behold your sovereign making a large conquest and purchase, by power and by price, of new companions, to join in concert with you in warbling forth eternal hallelujahs to God and the Lamb for ever more! All ye redeemed of the Lord, behold him paying down the infinite price of his own heart's-blood for your redemption, and love and admire him! Behold him on the cross, shouting and triumphing over sin, death, and devils, and wonder, love, and admire him! Behold him, all ye rational inhabitants, for sin at its first entry so shook and shattered the foundation of this fabric of the world, that if this lovely and wonderful one had not speedily interposed himself, all had rushed headlong down to hell, and wonder, love, and admire him! Behold him, all ye whose hearts and souls he hath touched as with a live coal from his altar, and wonder, love, and admire him! Behold him, all ye

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of this suffering period of the church, who are helped conscientiously to suffer for righteousness sake, and wonder, love, and admire him! Behold him, all ye bloody malicious persecutors; tremble and repent before him, and wonder, love, and admire him! And O thou my soul, and all that is within me, behold him, embrace him, and wonder, love, and admire him! Amen.

O infinite love! must it not be strong beyond all conception, in that rather than it should want a passage, it would borrow the slaughter-weapons of Jews and Romans, sinful miscreants, to cut and path out a way for itself, that it might expatiate, dart forth, and shed abroad its ransoming and redeeming rays, and crystal streams of endless good-will to all the elect, who, though they were thrown out among others, as wretched infants, yet their time was made a time of loves? He redoubled to them the kind intentions of his free and undeserved favour, while saying unto them, Live, and again live. Thus he rests in his love, because it is infinite like himself; and, therefore, the right of redemption is his. And incensed justice, must it not be great beyond conception, that no less would still it's ragings, and

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satisfy it's cravings, but that the Son of God behoved to be thrown in to quiet the fury thereof, and so make reconciliation for transgressors? All ye angels in heaven, and all ye inhabitants of this lower world, behold the man Christ Jesus swimming into the sea of wrath, and then swimming forth again, with all the elect embosomed within the circle of his redeeming arms, leading captives in triumph gloriously! And must not sin be for ever abominable and hateful beyond comparison, that no less than the blood of God-man could purchase and procure a pardon for it? And must not sin be very filthy, that every vein of his holy and innocent heart must be pierced, to stream forth floods of meritorious blood, to wash and purge out all the stains, yea, all the deeply ingrained stains, that all the elect are leavened and inlaid with, in heart and nature, as well as others? And must there not be a great depth of atheism, rebellion, with many other spiritual plagues, in the hearts of the children of men, that they should stand it out so long against innumerable kind invitations, against so many knockings of the spirit, against so many rods, afflictions, and persecutions, which are as so many iron

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whips to drive home straying sheep? O infinite love, wonderful in pains and expenses! Infinite love, wonderful in patience! Infinite love, wonderful in height! Infinite love, wonderful in breadth! and infinite love, wonderful in unsearchable depth! O Lord, thou the God of infinite love, seek thy poor servant, and save the son of thine handmaid; and let me not turn aside to folly, neither grieve thy holy spirit, but keep me ever in the exercise of thy love, faith, fear, humility, self-denial, and all the other graces, thou always enabling me to put in my claim for a share of this glorious Redeemer, and of his dear-bought redemption. Amen.

The last half of this year I read Mr. Guthrie's Trial of a Saving Interest, and very many of his sermons in manuscript, as also all Mr. Gray's sermons that are in print, and many of the last speeches of dying martyrs, with all which I was much edified and refreshed. I had occasion to hear Mr. Renwick from these words, Hab. ii, 3, "For the vision is yet for an appointed time, but, at the end, it shall speak, and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come; it will not tarry." Which words he explained, improved, and applied, vindicating the sovereignty of God, notwithstanding

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of his long delay to come with deliverance to his church and people. Likewise he pressed the great necessity of faith, patience, and humility, under the Lord's delay; and, towards the close of his sermon, he, with a great asseveration, assured us, that, for these sins, whereby the Lord was provoked to withhold deliverance from his church and people, Scotland should be laid as desolate as a barren mountain; adding this caution to all who are helped, through grace, to follow Christ in the regeneration, to take this for their comfort, that as that stroke, when it came, should be the deepest Jordan that ever his people waded in, so it should be the narrowest. Upon which, he exhorted all to make sure of a personal interest in the Lord Jesus Christ, and to walk closely with him in newness of life; for that trial, when it came, would be both sore and heavy; but on the back of that sad cloud there should be as glorious days in Scotland again, as ever was any where since the Apostles days, at which time the nation should be married to the Lord covenant-wise. The place of this meeting might be called Bohem, for both minister and people wept much.

I meditated much on the thoughts of the

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wonderful attributes and shining perfections of God, of which I had seen, felt, and enjoyed so much of since I came to the world, especially the last year, when I was so often mercifully rescued from many great and imminent dangers; and, therefore, cannot but admire him, adore him, and reverence him, who is a spirit, eternal, unchangeable, and incomprehensible, whose centre is everywhere, and his circumference nowhere: which glorious and mysterious perfections are in him altogether in an uncommunicable manner, neither can any thing in heaven or earth pretend to any part of the dignity and glory thereof; Isaiah, xlvi, 9, 10: xl, 12–29: xlii, 8. So, likewise, he is infinitely glorious in all his other shining attributes and mysterious perfections, such as his divine being, divine wisdom, divine power, divine holiness, divine justice, divine righteousness, divine goodness, divine mercy and faithfulness. All these are in him to an infinite perfection, and only communicable to his creatures according to his good pleasure, but in a special manner to his own peculiar people in the Lord Jesus Christ, through whom, and by whom, it is that they are communicated in a saving manner. From

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whence I am ever to learn to know and acknowledge him as he is, God, creator of all things, and that all things have their being of him alone, and then yields it to him again at his pleasure; Gen. i: Jer. xxxii, 17, 27: Zech. xii, 1: Isaiah, xlii, 5: Psalm xxiv, 12. I am ever to know, acknowledge, adore, and admire him, as God, supreme and sole governor of all his creatures and all their actions, so as none of them can move forward or backward, but must be all at his beck, to fulfil all his counsels, according to his determinate will and pleasure from everlasting; Dan. iv, 34, 35: Psalm cxxx, 5, 6: Acts, xvii, 26, 27: Matt. x, 29, 30, 31: Psalm cvii, 43. But, above all, I am ever to learn to know, acknowledge, and embrace him, as God Redeemer, who, from all eternity, fixed and condescended upon a certain number of fallen man's sons and daughters to be redeemed from sin, wrath, Satan, death, and the world; and that God the Father is the chooser, and that God the Son is the ransomer, and that God the Holy Ghost is the effectual caller and sanctifier of all these; and that these three glorious persons of the most sacred Trinity is one God over all, blessed for ever.

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And, further, I am to learn to know, and firmly believe, that the call and free offer of the gospel is to all within the pale of the visible church; and whosoever will not hear and be obedient to that voice from heaven, proclaimed in his word, shall be left inexcusable. And, further, I am to admire, and firmly believe, that he who hath appointed the end, hath also appointed the means to become effectual for attaining to that end; and so serious morality and spirituality (I mean a work of saving grace) must go hand in hand, in the practice of true godliness, yet so as his efficacious grace, in its saving operations, must always give life and influence to all moral actions in a saving manner; and that Christ, the great mediator, in whom the covenant of grace is established of God with believers, and by them, through his grace, must be heartily, fully, wholly, and cordially embraced, believing that it is by the purchased privilege of his Holy Spirit, which gives a new tincture, life, and spiritual edge to all my moral actions, so as they may be acceptable with God, only in and through Christ Jesus, in the working out of my generation and salvation work: and so all is of free grace, which only must begin, carry on,

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and perfect the work of my regeneration, till glorification. Thus Christ, and he alone, and the virtue of his purchase, must be entirely gone into, closed with, and for ever rested on, for justification, adoption, sanctification, and increase of all graces, in order to a final perseverance; and that all these things must be wrought in me, and in every elect child, by the Holy Spirit, as proceeding from the Father and the Son, according to these scriptures, Hos. xiii, 9: Rom. xiii, 11, 12, 13, 14: 2 Cor. vii, 10: viii, 9: x, 5, 17, 18: Gal. iii, 13, 24: Heb. ii, 3: iii, 7, to the end: Titus, ii, 11, 12, 13, 14: 1 Cor. vi, 20: John, i, 18, 29, 36, 49: iii, 3–22: Coll. i, 16, 26, 27: John, v, 22: Heb. i, 2, 3: Coll. i, 12, 13, 14: Eph. i, 3, to the end: ii, to the end: 1 Peter, i, to the end: Rom. viii, ix. These are all profound mysteries of religion, founded upon scripture revelation, which I am always to exercise myself with. O my soul! these are the watch-towers that I am continually to set myself upon, and from thence to view and behold, believe and be convinced, that this infinitely great, living, and true God hath appointed me these great things of his law, as a rule of direction for the duties of my station and capacity as a

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Christian, and therewith I am continually to be exercised while in the body.

I am to read the word of God, that I may know what is sin and what is duty, what to choose and what to refuse. I am to read often systems of sound divinity. I am to hear the gospel preached by Christ's faithful ambassadors. I am to pray often in secret and private. I am to sing the praises of God. I am to exercise myself in frequent meditations on the works of creation, works of providence, work of redemption, and on the covenant of works made with man in innocence, and how it was transgressed by Adam's fall; on the covenant of redemption, agreed on betwixt God the Father and God the Son, in favours of the elect; and on the covenant of grace, established with believers in Christ, and how it is clearly made known and gloriously displayed, with all its properties and privileges, in the word of God and a preached gospel. I am to be much in self-examination, inquiring narrowly into the temper, frame, disposition, and inclination of my heart and soul. I am to endeavour to live peaceably with all men, in the study of holiness, dearly loving all those who bear any thing of the image of God: all which duties

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of my general calling I am to cry to the Lord for the help of his Holy Spirit, that I may perform these things in his strength, humbly believing in him, without fainting.

Also, there are Christian duties extraordinary, which may, and often doth, fall in my way; such as, how to take up the cross for Christ's cause, and on what grounds to state my sufferings, righteously, for righteousness' sake; such as joining in Christian society with those who meet for the worship of God: such as, on what grounds to state separation, in case of error in judgment or practice, or in both, seeing the door of entrance may be made too strait or too wide, beyond or benist scripture limits; such as carrying of defensive arms, in opposition against tyrannical and bloody men.

Now, when any of these, or any other piece of extraordinary duty comes to my door, I am not, hand over head, to rush on the performance of them, because of other good men's calling them duties, lest I act from example or from my own spirit, and not by the direction of the Spirit of God, according to his word, which is my unerring rule; and, therefore, in all extraordinary cases, I am to search the mind of God in his word care-

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fully. I am to plead with the Lord at the throne of his grace, for the light and direction of his Spirit to accompany the light of his word, that the true meaning thereof may be made known to me, and be the infallible rule of my direction. I am to wait the hints of Providence to open a door for me, by putting an opportunity in my hand, and spirit me for that duty, that so I may know that I am called to it, and know which is the right season for it; for as my daily experience gives me great occasion for this cautious circumspection, so, likewise, the scripture instances following doth seem highly to favour it, as that of Moses, Exod. ii: Acts, vii: Heb. xi, 24, 25, 26, compared with Ex. iii and iv; there it is plain, that Moses was very forward for delivering the children of Israel when he found himself some way spirited for it; but when he found the event did not answer his expectation, the Lord's time not being come, but be obliged to flee, and remain forty years in a low banished condition. When the Lord's time came for their deliverance, he could hardly be driven to his duty. Alas! O Lord, this is a very humbling consideration, that as others have been so, I am ever ready to run from one

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extreme to another. Bring my thoughts to fall in with thy will, and make thy seasons my seasons! Gideon, who though a mighty man of valour, yet, like a wise man, he would not move one foot in that great work in delivering Israel from the hand of the Midianites, till he was commanded and instructed of God, but waited for the counsels of the Lord, and the hints of his divine providence, and therefore prospered well. Judges, vi, vii, viii. How comely is it to find the Lord leading, and the creature following him in the way of duty! How comely is it for him to command, and me to obey, and for him to open the door, and I then to enter upon my work, and not force a way to myself! Lord, hear and help me to wait for thy counsels, and let me not consult with flesh and blood. David knew he was anointed to be king of Israel, to fight the battles of the Lord, yet he would not enter upon any piece of action, neither possession, till he consulted God by his oracle, as is clear, by comparing 1 Sam. xxiii and xxx, with what is recorded 2 Sam. ii. Lord, help me to set thee always before me, and to acknowledge thee in all my ways, thou helping me to wait for thy counsels.

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David and Nathan, the one resolved, and the other approved, out of a pious and zealous design, to build a house for the ark of God; and yet it is clear, from 2 Sam. vii, that David was not the man who was to obtain this honour. Lord, keep me from ever acting from my own spirit, at my own season, and my own strength; but send thou forth thy light and thy truth to be guides to me, and let me not err from thy commanding will. It is clear, from Ruth, iii, iv, Naomi was to seek a settlement for her virtuous daughter-in-law, and to apply to Boaz; and though he knew she was a good woman, and heiress of an estate, that would return to them at the year of jubilee, or presently, by paying off the mortgage, yet he would not elude the other kinsman, nor move one step in that profitable bargain, but as divine providence cleared the way for him. Lord, save me from leaning to my own understanding, and from following in with the bent of my own inclination; but help me at all times to keep my affections in an equal poise, so as not to choose either or neither, but as thou shall determine, so as not my will, but thine may be done. Gen. xxiv. Abraham's servant goes a long journey to seek a wife for his master's son; and when

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come, he prays earnestly to God for good success; and, accordingly, gets his prayer answered. In all the circumstances going before the consent of parties concerned, yet he would not draw any conclusion from thence concerning what was to follow, but still left the matter to the Lord's clearing his way further, by saying to them, after a rehearsal of what the Lord had done in answer to his prayer. Now tell me, says he, that I may turn to the right or left hand; and they, referring it to Rebecca to choose or refuse, the Lord moved her heart to give the definitive sentence, to the man's great satisfaction, in answer to all his prayers. Lord, leave me not to act unadvisedly out of blind zeal, nor yet from example of others, but according to thy holy word; and grant that thy statutes may ever be the men of my counsels that I am to be guided by, and afterwards receive me to glory. Amen.

Further, I am to seek to quiet my mind, support my faith, patience, and experience, by comparing my persecuted and afflicted lot with the lot of the Lord's people through all ages. In viewing them, I find great satisfaction to see and observe, that nothing was befallen me and my relations, but what

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was fallen out according to the decreed will of God, both as to the kind and species of the trial, the degree and measure of the trial, the time and season of the trial, the duration and continuance of the trial, the means and instrument of the trial, the end and design of the trial; all which I largely proved to myself from scripture, and in reading the great Mr. Brown's Swan-song. That what God hath made crooked to my blind way of thinking, no wit of angels or men can turn it to be otherwise, neither can they antidate nor lengthen out the believer's trial further than what the Lord hath determined. That as the time of deliverance is hid from the Lord's people now at this day, so it hath often been hid from many of his people in all ages; yea, often it hath been, that when their faith was weakest and their expectation lost, then, even then, it hath been that they were quickly surprised with an unexpected outgate, upon which they have declared themselves as men that dreamed. It yielded me great satisfaction to see, upon search, that nothing was befallen me and my suffering friends, but such things as had befallen the Lord's people from the beginning of the world; and, further I observed, that when

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they were most afflicted and persecuted, they were most exercised in eying God's all-sufficiency, betaking themselves to him alone for refuge, that they might be hid in the chambers of his protection, until the Lord's trying times be over, believing, that the time is hastening when he will shorten the enemies chain, and check their malice, so that their hands shall not find their enterprises. All these things I proved to myself from scripture, beginning where Abel was clubbed to death, and viewed every piece of trial upon record that any of his people met with, to the end of the Revelation; and then falling down, cried, O Lord, thou son of David, seeing the right of redemption is thine, answer to thy name, and be to me a saviour, ruler, and teacher. Bring and keep me under the verge of thy protecting power; and bring and keep me under the influences of all thy mediatory offices. Forgive all my sins, subdue all my iniquities, and wash away all my filthiness; and the more unframed and undisposed I am for holy duties, help me to run the faster to thee, who is a quickening spirit; and the more thou frowns, help me to creep the lower before thee, and the nearer unto thee, and cause thy face to shine upon

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me. Break the yoke of our bloody oppressors, rebuke Satan and all his instruments. Revive thy work, as in former years; and restore to thy church and people all their ancient privileges; and grant, that we, who have long hung our harps as on the willows, may now have cause to rejoice in the Lord, and sing the songs of Zion. Amen.

That great man of God, Mr. Alexander Peden, died in the beginning of this year. Now, as it is said of men, who are in frequent converse and intimate correspondence with one another, that they love one another dearly, exchange secrets with one another, and share with one another in griefs and joys; this was eminently exemplified in David and Jonathan, who made a covenant of brotherhood and league of entire friendship, because they loved one another as their own souls. Yet all this is but a faint and shadow resemblance of these clear and sweet interviews, and rich communications, that the Lord Jehovah entertains his beloved Jehohadahs with, when he is declaring, even to by-standers, that he loves them, and manifests himself unto them, not as unto the world, John, xiv, 21, saying, as it were before, All thus shall it be done to the man,

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and thus shall it be done to the woman, whom the King of Saints delighteth to honour, and to some of those more than others; such as Moses, whom he knew face to face, and conversed with as a man doth with his friend; and such as Daniel, O man greatly beloved! and such as Paul, who was wrapt up to the third heavens; and many others recorded in scripture and ecclesiastical history, who were highly privileged with being admitted to know the secrets of the covenant of their God, Ps. xxv, 15; and also the secrets of his providences, Gen. xviii, 17: Hence, what is written, John xv, 15, is fulfilled to these in a great measure; amongst the number of whom, this great man, Mr. Peden, was one that seemed to be eminently honoured of God with many of those secret whispers, sweet glances, and clear interviews, that passeth betwixt God and his people, which carry such evidences and assurance alongst with them that they are of God, and from him, that there is no room left to doubt of their being of a divine extract, or thus saith the Lord. From which, for instruction's sake, I touch at three particulars concerning him. When he was a young man, and precentor and session-clerk in the parish of Tarbolton,

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there was a base woman with child to a country-man there; and he, to shun the scandal, gave the woman a piece of money to father the child upon Mr. Peden: the which she did; and the man fled to Ireland, to be farther out of the way; and so Mr. Peden was pursued at the kirk-session; but standing to his innocence, he was tried before the presbytery; but there he refuted the charge also. During the time of which process laid against him, there was a whole year spent; all which time Mr. Peden cried to the Lord, (who is a prayer-hearing God,) that he would graciously make a way of escape for him. And almost all the while in the night time, he resorted to the side of a ditch; and there, for privacy and more freedom of voice, walked up and down, breathing forth strong cries to the Lord; at the hearing of which, the country people who lived thereabout pitied him very much, whether guilty or not guilty, because the winter nights were long and stormy. But the ministers would show him no pity; for, having taken the wicked woman's oath, who fixed the guilt upon him, they raised letters of excommunication against him; and, accordingly, after sermon, Mr. John Guthrie

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took out the presbytery's act for excommunicating Mr. Peden, and read it before the congregation, and left Mr. Peden to see there was no remedy but to confess. But his innocent conscience could not espouse another man's guilt. Yet, behold! when all hope of escape was past, the Lord, the Lord God all-sufficient, pitied him, heard him, helped him, and delivered him: for the Lord raised a storm in the breast of the child's father, who was now in Ireland, that the horror of his conscience was such, that he was constrained to come home and take with the guilt; and such was the kind care of divine providence, that his coming home trysted exactly on the Lord's day upon which Mr. Peden was to be excommunicate; and just as Mr. Guthrie ended sermon, and was entering on the action against Mr. Peden, the child's father stood up, and cried to the minister,—Sir, hold your hand, and spare the innocent, and turn it upon me, for I am the guilty person; and there he made a full and free confession of the whole fact, concluding with telling the congregation, that the Lord obliged him to this confession by the heat and torment of his own conscience. And the wretched woman went to the foresaid ditch, where Mr.

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Peden had prayed so long and so often, and drowned herself. And in this these scriptures were fulfilled, Ps. ix, 16, 18: xii, 5: xxxiv, 4, 5, 6.

Although every act of worship that Mr. Peden was engaged in was full of sublime flights and useful digressions, yet they carried alongst with them a divine stamp; and every opening of his mouth seemed for most part to be dictated by the Spirit of God; and such was the weighty and convincing majesty that accompanied what he spoke, that it obliged his hearers both to love and fear him. I observed, that every time he spoke, whether conversing, reading, praying, or preaching, betwixt every sentence he paused a little, as if he had been hearkening what the Lord would say to him, or listening to some secret whisper; and then sometimes he would start, as if he had seen some surprising sight; at which he would break silence, and cry out to the commendation of God in Christ, to the commendation of his redeeming love, and to the commendation of his grace in the souls of his people, in their conviction, conversion, and upbuilding in Christ Jesus by the power of his holy spirit, and how that work ebbed and flowed ac-

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cording to the sovereign will and pleasure of their sweet Lord and Saviour, and according as their walk was tender or untender, watchful or unwatchful. He spoke often to the commendation of those who had really closed with Christ Jesus, by the power of his holy spirit, on gospel terms, and was willing to take up his cross, and venture their all for him. He often foretold many sad things to befal this sinful land, in a way of judgment, to be execute by the hands of the French and Spaniards; and he also foretold many things that was to befal particular persons and families. And he foretold many things antecedent thereunto; the most of which I have lived to see fulfilled. The Lord in mercy prevent the last and worst of what he foretold.

Before his death, he told his friends he should be buried twice; and, accordingly, when he died, his corpse was buried in the tomb of the laird of Auchinleck in the night-time; but the matter taking air, by some ill-advised and malicious persons, and there being one Lieutenant Murray lying in that country with a troop of dragoons, he came to Auchinleck's tomb, took out the coffin, after six weeks interment, broke it open, tore the

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winding sheet, and exposed the corpse to open view, and summoned in the country, to declare upon oath, if they knew that it was the body of Mr. Alexander Peden. The lieutenant, upon some presumption given by the people, according to his first information, took it for granted, and so caused carry the dead corpse a long way to the gibbet at Cumloch: and notwithstanding that the Countess of Dumfries and the Lady Affleck used their utmost intercession that the corpse might be buried under ground, yet the barbarous cannibal would be satisfied with nothing, but that the remains of that good man, mortified as they were, should be hung upon the gibbet in chains. The two ladies being very sorry that so should befal the corpse of the great Mr. Peden, they made their address to the Earl of Dumfries, who was a privy-councillor, and then at home. The Earl acquiesced to the ladies requests; and went to the gibbet, and told Murray, that he erected his gibbet for murderers, and other malefactors, but not for such men as that was; and he, as a privy-councillor, commanded Murray either to carry the corpse back to where he got them, or bury them at the gibbet foot. Accordingly they

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were buried, and lie there, with a grave-stone erected over them by his friends; upon which this tragical story is cut out in letters. O Lord! help us ever so to live in thy fear, love, and service, as to be ready to die any where, at any time, and after what manner thou shalt be pleased to appoint and call for at our hands; and ever be unto us the hearer of prayer, till thou enter us on the joyful work of uninterrupted praise, even praise for evermore. Amen.

In 1687, which was the 18th year of my age, being in a remote part of the country, where I was known to very few; and although I was much straitened as to my worldly circumstances, yet I had the opportunity of looking a little more abroad in the world, and found it quite another thing for abounding wickedness and profanity than what I formerly thought it had been, while I was shut up in my hidings, for the most part, amongst a praying people exercised to godliness; and also often taking a look of myself by meditation and examination, I found the violent workings of indwelling sin, accompanied with the poisonous bullets of Satan's fiery injections, and the power of strong unbelief; upon which sight of my

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sinful self, and of a blind world, I plainly perceived myself in great hazard and danger of departing from the Lord and his way, sometimes on the one hand, and sometimes on the other, both of which ways of sinning lead down to the chambers of death, and tend much to overthrow the ends of creation and redemption, whereby God is greatly dishonoured, Satan greatly gratified, and myself in great danger of being ruined for time and eternity; upon which I set up the following scripture perspective glass for myself, that thereby I may be warned and directed to steer a straight course, betwixt all right and left hand extremes, towards Emanuel's land.

First, I am to seek with all earnestness to be implanted in Christ, the Prince of Life, that from him, as my living head, I may obtain new and fresh supplies of all grace, to guard against and avoid all vicious sensuality of heart and conversation, because I have my rational being, and other valuable privileges, to a far other end than to live to myself, to eat, drink, sleep, and spend my time in a vain conversation, and sinful pursuit of satisfaction to the lusts of the flesh and pride of life; 1 Cor. x, 31: Rom. xi, 36:

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Ps. lxxiii, 24: 2 Cor. vii, 1; but more particularly, I am ever to take a humbling view of the falls of many of the scripture saints, which are recorded as so many warnings for me, not to be high minded, but fear, lest I split on those rocks where they shipwrecked the peace of a good conscience, and stained their integrity through a sinful unwatchfulness. Did Noah sin through excess of wine after a great deliverance? Gen. ix, 21; then I am to watch carefully against that vice, and walk with God in uprightness of life and sincerity of heart as he did, Gen. vi, 9. Did Abraham sin twice, by a distrustfulness of God's power and all-sufficiency, in denying his wife? Gen. xii, 12: xx, 2; then I am to watch against the sin of lying, and all distrusting of God, studying to speak the truth, and be strong in the faith as he was, Gen. xv, 6: Rom. iv, 3, 18, 20. Did Joseph sin in learning the customs of the place, to swear by the life of Pharoah? Gen. xlii, 15; then I am to watch against this vice, and beware of ill example, and say with him, How shall I do this great wickedness, and sin against God? Gen. xxxix, 9. Did David fall into the sin of passion and swearing upon a churlish an-

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swer from Nabal? 1 Sam. xxv, 21, 22; then I am to take all contempt and reproach meekly and submissively, as out of the Lord's hand, as he did when Shimei cursed him, 2 Sam. xvi, 10, 12. Did David fall into the abominable sins of murder and adultery? 2 Sam. xii, 9; then I am to watch against both these sins, and cry to the Lord for restraining, strengthening, renewing, and sanctifying grace as he did, Ps. xviii, 23: xix, 13. Did Solomon glut and surfeit himself with sinful sensual pleasures, and forsake the Lord and his way? Eccl. ii, 1–11: 1 Kings xi, 1–12; then I am to watch my heart with all diligence and believing application to the Lord for strength, Prov. iv, 23. Did Asa sin in running into a rage when reproved by the prophet? 2 Chron. xvi, 10; then I am to cry unto the Lord that he may set a watch upon my mouth, heart, and hand, that I may not sin against him, neither against my friend, but take good counsel in good part, Ps. cxli, 3–5: Gal. vi, 1, 2. Did Jehosaphat sin in joining with the ungodly? 2 Chron. xix, 2; then I am to watch and guard against all wicked company and sinful association, Prov. xiii, 20: Ezra, ix, 14. Did Hezekiah sin through pride and vain

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ostentation? Isaiah, xxxix, 2; then I am to watch, be humble, and walk softly before the Lord as he did, 2 Chron. xxxii, 26: Ps. cxix, 36, 37. Did Josias sin in going unadvisedly against the king of Egypt? then I am not to lean to my own understanding, but watchfully to acknowledge the Lord in all my ways, Prov. iii, 5–7: Jer. x, 23. Did Peter and the rest of the disciples sin by resting on a stock of grace, and being vainly confident? Matt. xxvi, 33, 34; then I am not to be high minded, but fear, watching unto prayer, that I enter not into temptation, Matt. xxvi, 41: Eph. vi, 11, 18: 1 Cor. 10, 12. Were there contentions between Paul and Barnabas, Acts xv, 39, and much carnal clashing against one another amongst the believing Corinthians? 1 Cor. i, 11: iii, 3, 4; then I am to watch and strive against all strife and division, and condescend, as far as possible, to live peaceably with all in the study of holiness, Heb. xii, 14: Rom. xii, 9, 10, 16, 18: xiv, 19: xv, 1–3: 1 John, iv, 7, 11: Phil. ii, 1–3: Eph. iv, 12–17. Did Peter dissemble in judaising? Gal. ii, 10, 14; then I am to contend earnestly for the faith, studying to know nothing but Christ and him crucified, Acts iv, 12: 1 Cor. ii, 2: iii,

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11: John, x, 15: xiv, 6. I am continually to search the scriptures, confession of faith, catechisms, and Mr. Durham's exposition of the ten commands, and from these to learn through grace to know what is sin and what is duty, what is to be believed and practised, following no man farther than they follow the Lord, and speak truth from his word, Isaiah, viii, 20: Luke xvi, 29: Gal. i, 18: Titus, i, 9: ii, 12–14: 2 Tim. iii, 16, 17.

Secondly, On the other hand, there is a departing from the Lord, when he deserts me and hides himself, and exercises me with many cross providences; yet, notwithstanding of all these things, I am to be far from finding fault with him, or with the conduct of his spotless providence: neither am I to draw any wrong conclusion anent God's eternal purpose, and anent my future state; neither am I to sit down, dejected and discouraged, forgetting God, my maker, who giveth songs in the night: no! that be far from me: but my duty is to ascribe righteousness to him, Job xxxvi, 3, and abhor myself in dust and ashes, Job xlii, 6. I am to bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he arise and plead my cause, and execute judgment for me; Micah

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vii, 8: Ps. xxxix, 9: Lam. i, 18. Seeing he hath all times and seasons in his own hand, and so knowing when it is best to command deliverance, therefore, under all delays, I am to do as Israel, Ex. ii, 23, 24, sigh and groan heavenward, Godward, and Christward, till my cry come up into his holy ear, and he remember for me his covenant of promise, and remarkably distinguish himself in my favour, to make me rejoice in the Lord, and be joyful in the God of my salvation, helping me to make much use of Christ at all times, in all his mediatory offices, for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, that by him I may be more and more quickened to prayer, praise, and other pieces of Christian exercise; more faith, without unbelief; more humbleness of mind, without discouragement; more peace, without sinful security; more spiritual joy, without carnal lightness; more holy boldness, in drawing near to God in Christ, without boldness to sin against him; and that my heart and soul may be more and more prepared and shaped out in a suitable breadth and length, to enjoy communion with God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, 1 John, v, 7: 1 Cor. xii, 4–6: Eph. ii, 18: John, xvii, 21: and till he dis-

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tinguish himself in my favour, in the conduct of his gracious providence, saying unto all my afflictions, what he said to the angel, 2 Sam. xxiv, 16, Stay now thine hand, it is enough; doing for me what he did for the man at the pool, John, v, 8, whom he made every whit whole, John vii, 23. And while he delayeth to draw near, to save and set me free from all my outward fightings and inward fears, I am not to faint, but bend the whole powers of heart and soul to live by faith upon unseen all-sufficiency, Isaiah, l, 10, John, xx, 29, looking up to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the virtue of his blood, and grip fast to him, as the criminal under the law to the horns of the altar. Though he long refuse to help, and though Satan and a deceiving heart tempt and incline me to let go my hold of him, yet, O my soul! yield not, consent not, to these enemies of my salvation; but cry out, No, no; if I must die, I will die here; for this is the place of my safety; this is the horns of the golden altar, where never any perished; this is the firm anchor-hold, where never any were shipwrecked. He is the blessed venture for eternal life, in whose hands never any miscarried, neither came short of their salvation. He is the life-

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giving fountain, where never any were killed with thirst. He is the glorious granary of heaven, and true Joseph, that affords his people the bread of life. He is the great antitype of the brazen serpent, lifted up on the pole of the cross, that all sin-stung and wrath-stung sinners might look upon him and be healed. He is Jesus, the Saviour of sinners, whose name was written in characters of blood, that the names of his sons and daughters might be written in the Lamb's book of life. He is the strong and mighty Redeemer, that came travelling in his strength, with garments dyed in blood, that he might bring salvation and redemption to his children, clothing them with white robes of his imputed righteousness, for their justification, and his imparted grace for their sanctification, while he beautifies them through his comeliness, and makes them like the doves of heaven, whose feathers are covered as with silver and yellow gold. He is the blessed antitype shadowed forth by all the slain beasts under the law, and the fountain opened up and shadowed forth by the Levitical ceremonial washings, that he might give satisfaction for all the offences of his people, and cleanse them from all the guilt, power,

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and filth of sin. He is the city of refuge, and chamber of divine encampment, where no wrath nor indignation can enter, to hurt any of the travel of his soul. He is the king of nations and king of saints, who hath a rod of iron to rule all his own and his people's enemies, and a sceptre of grace and gracious laws to rule all his expectants of glory. This is he who hath established a blessed connection betwixt his love and his rod, and betwixt the crown and the cross, each of which he hath lined with love, in that he makes all things work together for his glory and their good. This is he who hath made peace and reconciliation between an angry God and perishing sinners, and brings forth the prisoners of hope out of the pit wherein is no water, by the blood of his covenant. This is he that hath been proposed, in all ages, to those that are in desertion and affliction, as the only sure ground of their strong consolation, because he is that ransomer that was found to save them from going down to the pit. This is he that sits at the helm of all affairs, while his poor passengers are sailing through the world's storms, Satan's storms, and Death's jaws; and how furious and tempestuous soever these may prove, yet he will

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undoubtedly waft all his own safe over to Emanuel's fair and pleasant land. This is he who married our nature, and became bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, that he might be real man, sin excepted, as well as real God, that he might consecrate and path out a new and living way, through the veil of his flesh, whereby everlasting redeeming love might find a free passage to expatiate itself forth unto and for all his peculiar chosen ones, to effectuate all those great and glorious things for them. O then, my soul! be no more bewitched with the perishing pleasures of this transitory life, neither do thou any more sink and despond under desertions and afflictions; but up and fly, fly fast in unto the warm bosom and outstretched redeeming arms of this dear Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The latter end of this year, I heard that great man of God, Mr. James Renwick, preach on the Song of Solomon, iii, 9, 10, where he treated sweetly on the covenant of redemption, agreed on betwixt God the Father and God the Son, his equal, in favours of the elect, and also on the covenant of grace established with believers in Christ. This was a great and sweet day of the gospel, for

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he handled and pressed the privileges of the covenant of grace with seraphic-like enlargement, to the great edification of the hearers. Sweet and charming were the offers that he made of Christ to all sorts of sinners. There was one thing this day which was very remarkable to me, for though it was rain from morning till night, and we as wet as if drenched in water, yet not one fell sick; and though there was a tent fixed for him, he would not go into it, but stood without, in the rain, and preached: which example had great influence on the people to patience, when they saw his sympathy with them; and though he was the only minister that kept closest to his text, and had the best method for the judgment and memory of any that ever I heard, yet now, when he perceived the people crowding close together, because of the rain, he digressed a little, and cried, with a pleasant melting voice, My dear friends, be not disturbed because of the rain; for to have a covenant interest in Christ, the true Solomon, and in the benefits of his blessed purchase, are well worth the enduring of all temporal elementary storms that can fall on us: and this Solomon, who is here pointed at, endured a far other kind of storm for his people,

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even a storm of unmixed wrath. And what would the poor damned reprobates in hell give for this day's offer of sweet and lovely Christ to be their redeemer! and how welcome would our suffering friends, in prison and banishment, make this day's offer of Christ! And I, for my own part, says he, as the Lord will help me, shall bear my equal share of this rain in sympathy with you.—And then he returned to his sweet subject again, and offered us peace and reconciliation with God, through Christ, by his spirit.

Words fail me to express my own frame, and the frame of many others; only this, we would have been glad to have endured any kind of death, to have been home at the uninterrupted enjoyment of that glorious Redeemer, who was so livelily and clearly offered to us that day. O my soul, behold and wonder! What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits! for here he was remarkably present with us, by inward consolation and outward preservation.

But now, with a grieved heart, I must bid a final farewell, in time, to this worthy minister and highly-honoured martyr; for, within two months, he was apprehended after this, and executed at Edinburgh, 17th Fe-

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bruary 1688. He was born, in 1662, of parents both eminently godly. His mother's name was Elizabeth Corsan, with whom I was well acquainted. He was the only man that ever I knew that had an unstained integrity. He was a lively and faithful minister of Christ, and a worthy Christian, such as none who were entirely acquainted with him could say any other, but that he was a beloved Jedidiah of the Lord. I never knew a man more richly endued with grace, more equal in his temper, more equal in his spiritual frame, and more equal in walk and conversation. Many times, when I have been thinking of the great Mr. Knox, Mr. Welsh, Mr. Davidson, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Rutherfoord, Mr. Durham, and others of our worthy reformers, I have thought that the great Mr. James Renwick was as true and genuine a son and successor to these great men, as any that ever the Lord raised up in this land, to contend for truth, and preach the gospel to lost sinners. He seemed to come upsides with them in soundness of principles, in straightness of practice, in meekness, in prudence, and zeal for the glory of God, in giving testimony for the truth, and against sin and defection: so that although

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he was the Joseph that was sorely shot at and grieved, yet he was the Caleb that followed the Lord fully. When I speak of him as a man, none more comely in features, none more prudent, none more brave and heroic in spirit, and yet none more meek, none more humane and condescending, he was every way so rational, as well as religious, that there was ground to think that the powers of his reason were as much strengthened and sanctified as those of any mere man I ever heard of. When I speak of him as a Christian, none more meek, and yet none more prudently bold against those who were bold to sin, and yet none more prudently condescending; none more frequent and fervent in religious duties, such as prayer, conversation, ejaculation, meditation, self-examination, preaching, prefacing, lecturing, baptising, and catechising; none more methodical in teaching and instructing, accompanied with a sweet charming eloquence in holding forth Christ as the only remedy for lost sinners; none more hated of the world, and yet none more strengthened and upheld by the everlasting arms of the great Jehovah, to be stedfast and abound in the way of the Lord to the death; wherefore, he might just-

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ly be called Antepas, Christ's faithful martyr. And as I lived then to know him, and all these things of him to be so of a truth, so, by the good hand of God, I yet live, thirty-six years after him, to testify, that no man, upon just grounds, had any thing to lay to his charge, when all the critical and straitening circumstances of that suffering period is well considered, save that he was liable to natural and sinful infirmities, as all mere men are while in this life: and yet he was as little guilty this way as any I ever knew or read of. He was the liveliest and engagingest preacher to close with Christ of any ever I heard. His converse was pious, prudent, and meek; his reasoning and debating were the same, carrying along with them a full evidence of the truth of what he asserted: and, for stedfastness in the way of the Lord, few came his length: he learned the truth, and counted the cost, and so sealed it with his blood.

Of all the men that ever I knew, I would be in the least danger of committing a hyperbole when speaking to his commendation: and yet I speak not this to praise man, but for the glory and honour of God in Christ, who makes men to differ so much from

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others, and in some periods of the church more than others. This doth wonderfully speak forth the infinite wisdom and immense fulness of Christ, the glorious King and rightful Head of his Church, that he, being the head of all divine influence, doth communicate to, and lodge in man, a clay vessel, such graces, gifts, and qualifications, whereby they are thoroughly furnished for what work he has a mind to employ them in, and then seal it with their blood; which is a great honour, which few obtain.

Now, O my soul! bless the Lord that ever I heard this great man preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to poor lost sinners, of whom I am the chief: and the more I descend, by self-examination, to feel the sinful workings of my heart and nature, the more cause I see to cry out, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? But thanks be to God, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, who shall change this vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working of his mighty power, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself!" And to this one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be endless praise and hallelujahs for evermore. Amen. Amen.

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A short account of the religious practice, and some of the triumphant dying expressions, of the persecuted party, who were persecuted from the year 1661 to the year 1688 inclusive, for their adhering unto the protestant orthodox principles, received and professed in the presbyterian church of Scotland, written for my own edification, and formed in a letter in answer to a gentleman.

Sir, You inquire what my thoughts of the persecuted people were, who were persecute by King Charles II and King James VII? *Answer.*—Sir, My opinion of them is, that they were persons highly favoured of the Lord, (a few excepted,) for these reasons:—In that they were helped through grace to espouse, with heart and soul, all the attained-unto pieces of reformation, from antichristian darkness, error, and superstition, to presbytery covenant ways, in soundness and gospel simplicity, of principles and practices, according to the whole word of God; and were so staunch therein, that they would not lose nor part with hair nor hoof for the pleasure of no man; neither would they stain their consciences by denying their dear Lord and his righteous cause with the least of sinful compliances; neither stain

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their life and conversation with the least of immoral practices, but lived straightly up to their light in the Lord. They were solid and serious, and conscientiously deliberated what to choose and what to refuse, never consulting with flesh and blood, but with God in his word, and the judgment of sound divines; particularly the Westminster Confession of Faith, concerning what was duty and what was sin. They were much in the exercise of mortification, and abstemious from all inordinate and unnecessary use of the creature, both in meat, drink, and apparel. They were very hospitable and compassionate towards those in want, having all things, for most part, in common, resembling the primitive Christians; and this liberality they extended often, even to those who were not of their own judgment, yea, even sometimes to avowed enemies. Thus, their light of principles, and honesty of practice did so shine before all, as made every thinking unprejudiced person praise God in their behalf; and very often struck even their worst enemies with a strong conviction, which occasioned even the bitterest of them sometimes to commend that people and their way which they most persecuted. The way how they employed

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and improved their time, except when flying and shifting from place to place, to escape their enemies fury and cruelty, was spent in earnest and fervent prayers to the Lord, in bemoaning and bewailing their own sins of heart, nature, life, and conversation, and their sins of place and station, and in sighing and crying for all the sins and abominations of all ranks and degrees of persons in the land, deprecating the Lord's wrath, that his anger might be turned away, and that he would pity, spare, and raise up a remnant to be a seed to serve him in these lands, according to his pattern showed them in his word. In this they were pathetically earnest and importunate with the Lord, as though they would take no denial, but often cried, O that he would return! O that he would return! and revive his work with power, light, and life, and help them, and all that he had thoughts of peace to, and purposes of mercy for, from all defection, error, and extreme, on the right and left hand; and that he would mightily assist them, theirs, and all his own people everywhere, with quickening, renewing, restraining, strengthening, comforting, and preserving grace and mercy, that they might be all borne up, and

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borne through, under all trials and all temptations assaulting them from the Devil, the world, and the flesh; and that they might be richly furnished with divine aid and assistance, to resist unto blood striving against sin; they being ever helped, through grace, to live in him, to live to him, and to live for him; and that he would glorify himself in them, glorify himself by them, and glorify himself upon them, in a way of grace and gracious disposal, so as they might be greatly helped to live to him in all sincerity and uprightness of heart; and, when called to it, to die for him in all faithfulness and constancy. What watering with tears? What holy and vehement breathings of soul? What heavy and heart-rending groans for a body of sin and death? What mighty wrestlings with the Lord, that he might cause his face to shine upon them, and return to these lands in mercy? What self-judgings and self-condemnings of themselves? What bitter bewailings of sins personal, general, and national? What crying for the spirit of God, in all his saving and quickening operations in them? What crying to the Lord for light and truth, to lead them in the paths of righteousness for his own name's sake? What

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holy and constant resolves to be for the Lord and his way, and not for another, cost what it would? What distinct uptakings of a God in Christ, the great Mediator, the noble Plant of Renown, of his person, of his two natures, divine and human, and of his threefold offices, as King, Priest, and Prophet for his people, and that they might be ever kept under the influences thereof? What holy, constant, pressings and strivings to be made partakers of his fulness of grace, for grace to persevere honestly and stoutly to the end? What shining beauty was in their faces when thus employed? What melting and yearning of bowels? What cheerfulness and extension of voice, and yet the tears running amain down their cheeks? What weighty and unforethought sentences and expressions proceeded out of their mouths, as if dictated by the spirit of God, to the great amazement of those who were witnesses? And what earnest pleadings with the Lord, to be ever counselled of him under all emergencies of providence, that he might see fit to tryst them with? Thus they would have been employed several hours, sometimes whole days, sometimes whole nights, sometimes three days and three nights, all spent in earnest

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prayer to the Lord, and mighty wrestlings with him; only now and then interlaced with reading a portion of the scripture and singing psalms, and refreshing their bodies with meat and drink once in the twenty-four hours; sometimes oftener, and sometimes not so often. All which things I was witness of from my birth to my twentieth year of age, to the no small comfort and edification of my soul; and alas! for my folly that it was not more so.

It was suprisingly wonderful to see how much they were taken up in provoking one another to love and good works, by being free to one another in their Christian counsels and holy advices, and by being exemplary to one another in all holy circumspection and upright walking before the Lord, before whom all things appear as naked and bare; setting him always before them, living under the awful impressions of him, and acknowledging him in all their ways, and by a free communicating to one another their experiences of the Lord's goodness to their souls; how he made them glad and to rejoice in the light of his countenance; and how he made them delight in himself, as their only upmaking portion; and how much he helped

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them to a victory over sin, to a victory over all heart-plagues, to a victory over Satan, to a victory over all temptations of losing the world, in that they suffered joyfully the spoiling of their goods, rather than save them on sinful terms; and how he helped them to a victory over the frowns of parents and other relations, who were extremely angry with them for being Moses-like, in choosing to suffer affliction with the people of God, in bearing testimony for him and his honourable way, rather than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; while sometimes the husband was against the wife, and the wife against the husband, the parent against the child, and the child against the parent, the brother against the sister, and the sister against the brother. Yet all these noble, self-denied, and cross-bearing venturers, overcame in the strength of the Lord, and by the power of his might; and by his help they overcame the threatening rage of their bloody enemies, and the fears of death itself; and so in the midst of all dangers and deepest distresses, they could say to one another, and for the comfort and encouragement of one another, That the ways of the Lord are all pleasantness, and that all his paths are peace; and that his

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cross was a sweet, easy, light, and honourable cross; and that the outsettings of their dear and sweet Lord of himself to their souls did more, by far, than defray all the charges and expenses that they were put to in bearing the cross; upon which account, they cried out to one another, with the great Apostle Paul, We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, yet not in despair; we are persecuted, but not forsaken; we are cast down, but not destroyed; for this cause we faint not, though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day; for our light afflictions, which are but for a moment, they work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, while we look not at the things which are seen, which are temporal, but at those things which are spiritual and eternal, and now seen and enjoyed by faith. Thus, those noble sufferers were burden-bearers and hearty sympathizers with one another; while, David-like, they said one to another, Come here all ye that fear God, and I will tell you what he hath done for my soul. And it was observed, that those cross-bearers, if any of them were, at any time, under a damp on their spirits, they acquaint-

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ed their suffering companions with their case; every one of whom would run their alone, and cry to the Lord for light, counsel, and comfort to that person, and would seldom give over till the complainer's case was the best of all the company: so that through the goodness of the Lord their mouths were much oftener filled with his praises for his condescendency to them, than with complaints. Yea, it was a rare thing to hear any of them complain, notwithstanding of their straitened suffering circumstances; but rather, Caleb-like, followed the Lord fully, doing every thing to commend him, and bring a good report upon his honourable way; saying often with David, Behold! here am I, let him do with me what seems good in his sight, so being he may be glorified. O my soul! bless thou the Lord, that ever I was embarked with such a wrestling and cross-bearing company, who had the mighty God of Jacob for the sword and shield of their excellency!

These noble adventurers and faithful cloud of witnesses for truth, being strongly and sweetly determined by grace to count the cost, deny themselves, embrace their dear Lord and Saviour, set apart themselves,

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surrender, and give up and away themselves to him, and take up their cross for his sake, and for his precious truth's sake, which was then much denied and despised; and follow him whither he and his providence led them, through many wants, weariness, bad report, and good report, yea, innumerable winding circuits of tribulations, while passing their pilgrimage through this world; that so it was, when he had humbled them, proved them, tried them, and ripened them by grace, for their greatest and utmost trials, in leaving them to fall into the hands of their bloody enemies, to get a sacrifice of their blood to seal his precious truths; and they, when brought before rulers and great men, who threatened them death, in all its ghastly and terrible shapes: But, O then! to the glory of his great name, to the honour of his righteous cause, to the no small comfort and consolation of their souls, and to the shame and confusion of all his and their enemies, how wonderfully, graciously, and remarkably did the Lord, their kind and compassionate God, stand by them, own, and assist them! that so with much freedom and boldness in the face of their enemies, and with much quietness of mind, and composure of

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spirit, did they, on all hazards, declare their cordial and constant adherence to all the parts of his despised and trampled upon truths, counting the least part thereof worth many lives and much blood. And, indeed, it was very observable, that those of them that dallied and dipped least with the enemy, but stood closest to the received principles of the reformed covenanted church of Scotland, were the persons that were most singularly owned of God. How wonderfully did their dear Lord own and assist them with suffering grace, or grace to outface all dangers! for such was the strength of their love to him and his cause, that their affections could not be bribed with love of natural life, nor with love of wife, children, father, mother, brother, sister, houses, nor lands, to deny him, and lay a confederacy with his enemies; but much rather would they forego, and lose all for his name's sake. How wonderfully did their dear and compassionate Lord own and assist them, with a holy, filial, and reverential fear of himself, ruling in their hearts at all times, but especially when their trials and temptations were strongest, and their dangers greatest! so that they trembled to think of dipping in the least

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with God's enemies, or dally with a temptation about losing hair or hoof of his precious truths, to the dishonour of his great name, to the wounding of their own consciences, to the stumbling of the generation of the righteous, and to the hardening of enemies in their wicked courses; often saying to themselves, and one to another, He that will not be faithful in that which is little, will not be faithful in that which is much; and if they cast down what they once builded, they make themselves transgressors; for those that will not confess him and his truths before men, them will not Christ, their dear Lord, confess before his father and the holy angels; for they that love life, or any thing better than him, are not worthy of him.

Therefore, when sinning and suffering came in competition, they wisely judged it was their incumbent duty earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints; and they wisely judged it was better to obey God than man; and they wisely judged it was better to lose temporal perishing things, than lose those things which are spiritual and eternal. How wonderfully did their dear and compassionate Lord own and assist them with sanctifying. renewing, and strengthening grace and

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mercy! so that he mightily helped them with a victory over a body of sin and death: he sweetly loosed their bonds of sin, and speedily knocked off their fetters of iniquity, and quickly made his reconciled face shine refreshfully on them; not but they had their own toilsome struggles with indwelling sin, damps of spirit, and clouds of desertion; but free, free grace, and rich mercy, made speedy and large advances for their relief and outgate. In regard that a wise God had other work cut out for them, which was to witness a good confession for him, against the sacrilegious encroachments made by wicked men upon Chirist's incommunicable prerogatives, who is king and head in and over his own church; which through grace they were helped to do, with much cheerfulness and constancy. How wonderfully did their dear, kind, compassionate Lord accompany them with such a sweet and soul-satisfying sense of his pardoning grace and mercy, and of his distinguishing and redeeming love in Christ extended to them, that much of their little time, when amongst their enemies hands, and under the greatest trials, from the reproaches, scoffs, jeers, and bloody threatenings of their wrath-

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ful enemies, was spent in admiring, blessing, and praising their God, for the remission of all their sins, and because of his doing away all their iniquities in the blood of Christ, and by the spirit of regeneration and renovation! And for this thing they often invited their Christian friends and religious companions to praise, and again to praise him, who had done so much for them in a way of grace and gracious condescendency, who could do so little for him in a way of true obedience, and in asserting and vindicating his declarative glory, saying often to one another, O that we had as many lives as there are hairs on our head! we would freely give them all up in his service, to seal his precious truths with our dearest blood, to bear witness for him, and to bear witness against the sinful encroachments of enemies. How wonderfully did their dear, kind, and compassionate Lord own and assist them with the ravishing, transporting, and overcoming discoveries of the knowledge and glory of himself in the face of Christ, and of the beauty and sweetness of his cross, that they were often quite nonplussed! so that they made no more reckoning of death, nor of what men could say of them, or do to them, than the

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scratch of a pin; but, on the contrary, they, with much wonder and admiration, cried out thus, or to this purpose,—O infinitely glorious, kind, and condescending God! for this is the joyfullest day that ever we saw, or ever expected to see. The sweet and peaceful satisfaction of this day far, far outdoes all the joy that any of Time's things could afford. Our wonderfully good God makes us now to see such a beauty in his redeeming love, and of the wonderful condescendency of Christ, when suffering for sinners, that we are no more afraid nor disturbed with enemies threatenings, or with the gazings of multitudes upon us, than we were with and speaking to our own children and meanest of our inferiors. O the reality of religion! the good will of God! the sweet outlettings of Christ! the supporting and comforting power of the Spirit of Grace! for the more we are gazed on, the more doth the holy courage of our hearts and souls increase: the more we are threatened, the less we are afraid of what man can do unto us. We fear not death in its most formidable attacks: we have learned of thrice and for ever lovely Christ to die any kind of death for him, that we may get home to the uninterrupted enjoyment of him,

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whose ravishing beauty, infinite worth and excellency, has so overcome us, that we cannot endure to be absent from him any longer. O fair one! sweet one! excellent one! the Top-flower of heaven and earth, and noble Plant of Renown! O royal, royal King, Christ, and noble standard-bearer among ten thousand! come, come, come quickly, Lord Jesus! Sweet, and for ever sweet and lovely Jesus, come quickly! We will not tempt thee to thrust ourselves into suffering, when not clearly called of thee thereunto: but, when thou art pleased to call us unto that high honour, through thy strength we will swim through rivers of blood to be at thee! O for the sweet, for the warm, for the naked embraces of thee, thou glorious King of Saints, and highly-exalted King of Nations! O thou super-eminently, matchlessly, excellent Jesus! O lovely, lovely, lovely, Jesus Christ of Nazareth, the Father's eternal, equal, and everlasting delight! O our souls adore thee! our souls admire thee! our souls delight in thee! our souls long vehemently to be at the full enjoyment of one adorable God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one in three, and three in one! O who is like unto thee, who pardoneth iniquity, and

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passeth by the transgressions of thy people, and retaineth not thine anger for ever, because thou delightest in mercy! O praise, praise, for ever more to God and the Lamb! to whom belongs honour, glory, salvation, and dominion for ever and ever! who loved us, and washed us in the blood of the Lamb! Even us, who were like wretched infants, cast out into the open field, and lying exposed in our blood: then it was, that he met with us in a time of his matchless love! distinguishing love! everlasting love! redeeming love! and said unto us, Live, live! Even us, who were enemies to him! even us, who were rebels against him! even us, who were Sin's slaves and Satan's slaves! O even us, who were sitting and sinking under the shadows of death and regions of darkness! Yet, O us, even us, hath he abundantly pardoned and graciously forgiven, and brought us near to himself, even very near, by the blood of his covenant. O Lord, is this the manner of man? No, no.—That cannot be; it is not the manner of man nor angels; but it is the way and manner of a wonder-working God, and that our souls knoweth right well. O angels wonder at this, and praise him! O redeemed of the Lord, wonder

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at this, and praise him! O all ye inhabitants of the upper and lower house, wonder at this, and praise him! O sun, moon, and stars! and every thing that hath a being, wonder, wonder, and praise the Lord! who hath done all these unspeakably good things for us, and now hath singled us out to be cross-bearing, confessing, bleeding, dying, and triumphing witnesses for him and his despised truths; for in him, and by the power of his right hand, we fight, we die, we overcome. O sweet cross of Christ! lovely cross of Christ! light and desirable cross of Christ! and that it is so of a truth we now write it under our hands, and within a little will seal it with our blood, that it is certainly so. Then all you who will venture honestly to take up his cross, in his strength he will bear you and it both, and will pay you the wages as if ye had done all the work. He hath done so to us, and he will deal no worse with those that come after us. O ten thousand times lovely Christ! and O surpassing sweet incomes of thy sweet and lovely cross! O our souls are ravished! ravished! ravished! with the beauty of our fair, incomparably fair, Lord Jesus Christ, God-man, and his sweet cross! his cross is

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the sweetest and fruitfullest tree that ever grew next to the tree of life, that grows in the paradise of God; and it is he, with the power of his right hand, accompanied with grace and mercy, that makes it so. Our souls are ravished, and leap for joy, that we are got safe in under the refreshful shadow of this tree of life; Christ, and only Christ and his cross, is a rich portion, a sweet portion, and an excellent portion. O that every hair of our head were a man to die for him! and that every drop of our blood were a life to be lost for him! for all lives that are interested in him covenant ways, and lost for him, are found in him, saved of him, and redeemed by him, to wear a crown of immortal life. Sweet scaffolds! sweet gibbets! and sweet cords! since you are the way to the warm and endless embraces of the thrice and forever well-beloved of our souls! O that every faculty of our souls were as wide as the heavens and as broad as the earth, to receive much, and to enjoy much, of sweet and lovely Christ, who fills heaven and earth! O praise him! O our souls praise; praise, for it is comely! Death, come do thy worst! time and space flee out of the way. Come sweet, sweet Jesus Christ! come lovely Christ! why

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are the chariot wheels so long a coming? Come quickly! make no tarrying, for we die willingly for thee, that we may live for ever in and with thee! We die witnessing against every thing in practice and principle that is contrary to thy holy will, revealed in thy blessed and unerring word; and we die most willingly, freely, and cheerfully, that we may seal with our blood all thy precious truths, which thou hast appointed in thy word for a ground of faith and for matter of practice, which great things of thy law we look upon, O our Redeemer! as the shining pearls and rich jewels of thy mediatorial crown: they are the great things of thy law, every one of which are more glorious than mountains of prey and hills of frankincense, because they are thine, and because they came forth from thee: they are the intimations and declarations of thy good and divine will! Thou royal bridegroom and well-beloved of our souls, we bless and praise thee for ever and ever, that thou hast caused the sweet and joyful news of them to be heard in our land, and to be heard in our ears, and to be heard in our hearts and souls. Amen. And now, farewell sin, farewell resisting and combating with the devil, the world, and the flesh!

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farewell all scorns, mocks, and reproaches! farewell all sinking sorrows! farewell all nearest and dearest relations! farewell sweet Christian societies! and sweet communion of saints on earth, farewell, farewell! Farewell holy and sweet bible, which has been a light to our feet and a lamp to our paths! Lord God Jehovah, advance thy kingdom of grace in this world, and hasten thy kingdom of glory for ever! Welcome sweet communion of saints and holy angels! and welcome one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to whose hands we commit our souls, and to whom be praise and endless hallelujahs, without end! Amen.

Honoured Sir, The pious and religious practices, and holy soul-breathings of that persecuted people, were so many, that if all were recorded, they would have filled a large volume, of which this is a small taste; in which relation, I have, for matter and method, kept as near their own words as possible. Yet I do not say that this height of the sense of the overcoming love of God to these martyrs and confessors was all of a like degree and measure; but what any of them were short of it, which was but very little, others of them as much exceeded, in a holy

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triumphing exultation, beyond what they could get words to express. Lord, endue me with much of the all of saving grace, that I may ever conscientiously copy after these noble cloud of witnesses, by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, till I come to the full and naked embraces of himself, and to the endless communion of those my glorified relations and religious companions. Amen.

The year 1688 was the 19th of my age. This was a year of much thought of heart to me, for, as is usual, the night goes before the day, and the last hour of the night darkest; so was the case with me now, for, on the 1st of February, the eminently godly, meek, and prudent Mr. James Renwick, whom I took my leave of, the latter end of the last year, according to the determinate will of God, fell into the enemies hands, and was executed; which thing was not only a great grief of heart to me, but an unspeakable loss, for now I wanted him who preached the word of life, and taught me the way of salvation faithfully, fervently, and meekly, without all bitter reflection, like a faithful servant of Christ Jesus, the want of which made my bowels to roll within me. It is true I had

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occasion to hear others, but their way of preaching was not so agreeable to my taste; for some of them, though great and good men, yet they for the most part insisted in describing and testifying against the public sins, apostacies, and defections of that day, seldom pointing out the sins of our hearts and natures, as the procuring cause of our ruin, and seldom pointing out Christ Jesus as our only remedy; which thing ought to have been done, and the other not left undone. Likewise, there were others for me to hear, who preached under the verge of King James VII's abominable toleration. They preached piously and to good purpose, insisted on the doctrine of free grace; but they not witnessing against the sins and defections of the day, by setting the Lord's trumpet to their mouth, to give us faithful warning of our danger, but, instead thereof, winked at, and by practice homologated, the ungodly proceedings of our wicked rulers; which practice of their's did very much stumble me, and marred the success of the gospel, which otherwise, through the Lord's blessing, it might have had. Yet I being always on the study of a bearing, forbearing, and forgiving temper of spirit, and having laid down cer-

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tain rules for myself the former years, I made a shift, as the Lord helped me, to steer betwixt both parties of these suffering presbyterians, some of whom were for owning that wickedly designed toleration, and some not for owning it, I neither inclining much to the one nor to the other; my light not serving me to go up with the foremost, nor to stay aback with the hindmost, but used charity to both, and studied moderation, in speaking little; but, when obliged to give my opinion, and when I spoke according to my young years, I used caution: yet, to be very ingenuous, declaring my cordial adherence to all protestant presbyterian principles, as far as consistent to, and agreeable with God's will, revealed in his word, and summed up in our Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and sworn to in our covenants; and I also cordially owned the dying speeches of all that died on scaffolds, sealing their declared adherence to the protestant presbyterian principles with their blood, as far as they are agreeable to God's holy word; I still allowing all of them the honour of martyrdom, though differing in their judgment about some things, such as the owning the civil part of the then authority, which some

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eminent men never had clearness to disown; and, on the other hand, I freely disown and testify against the exercise of all illegal arbitrary power and supremacy in matters ecclesiastic in the state, and against all diocesian episcopacy, and all lording it over the house of God, contrary to his word, and contrary to the sworn principles of the presbyterian Church of Scotland; and I disown the wicked toleration granted the last year, to open a door to popery and all false religion, which will prove to the utter subversion of all true religion, if the Lord interpose not with his preventing mercy. I approve of defensive arms to be made use of by those who have light for it; but I witness against all shedding of blood, except strictly in self defence, by a just war, and by the civil magistrate, according to God's word. I would humbly desire all Christ's sent ambassadors to be faithful, plain, and positive against the sins and backslidings of the day, but chiefly to insist in shewing people their lost state, and the great necessity of their recovery therefrom, in, through, and by a glorious Mediator, Christ Jesus, plainly holding forth to perishing sinners what he is, what he has done and suffered

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for elect sinners, and how he is to be sought after, closed with, and embraced, as their only upmaking portion, on gospel terms, by the power of his saving grace; and what great need there is for both ministers and people to adorn the gospel of Christ Jesus by a holy life and conversation. But things this year continued still to have more and more of a melancholy aspect; for, in summer, the enemy came through the place of the country where I was, and searched very narrowly for arms, a thing they had often done before: upon which I conceived a heavy apprehension of a designed massacre; which apprehension was strengthened by the enemy's loud brags and other presumptions. Now, as it had been a dark and dreadful time from my birth to this day, so now, in a special manner, it seemed to threaten universal ruin more than ever; and, therefore, I cried earnestly to the Lord that he would again interpose himself, and pity and spare for his great name's sake, and not make a full end, but remember mercy in the midst of deserved wrath, and make mercy rejoice over judgment, in favours of these poor lands, and that he would spare a remnant to be a seed to serve him. And although things

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can be little worse with me and my dear brother than what it is, yet, Lord, thou knowest that I desire not the woful day ; Jer. xiv, 7–9, 20, 21 : Amos, v, 18, 20. But behold, and let it never be forgotten, let it always be had in fresh and thankful remembrance with us, how that Scotland's wonder-working and covenanted God stept in and interposed himself betwixt poor Britain's neck and the block, by raising up and inspiring the valiant and renowned King William, in concert with the great Duke of Brandenburg, heartily to espouse the protestant interest ; and that, by the assistance of the United States of Holland, (to all whom we owe, next to an all-sufficient God, lasting thankfulness,) the every-way brave King William was enabled to cross the seas, and break the yoke of our wicked oppressors, and restore us to all our privileges, sacred and civil, after we, like cowed spiritless indolents, had sold and subjected ourselves slaves to the lustful rage and cruelty of men abandoned to all kinds of wickedness. Thus, the Lord of Hosts, who is strong in battles, and knows how to snare the wicked in the works of their own hands, cut out other work for

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our powerful, spiteful, and malicious enemies, even when their bloody and massacreing designs were in great ripeness.

And when the news came of the heroic William being landed in England with his forces, on the never to be forgotten 5th of November 1688, how did it refresh and revive our more than sunk spirits, and give a wonderful turn to the state and face of affairs to the better, and caused our proud enemies to cringe and sink away! This was the Lord's doings, and it was marvellous in our eyes: and O that it may be marvellous in the eyes of all following generations, because God's ways with us were all wonder, like himself! for now, in a remarkable manner, was he on his mighty acts of mercy for us, as he was for those, Psalm cvi, 44, 45. Thus, the Lord repeated and reacted over again his merciful deliverances for us, which he wrought many a time for his people in the days of old. And O that there were such a heart in us to improve all continually to his glory, and ever to cry out, with the Psalmist, Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory; for the right hand of the Lord is exalted, and the right hand of the Lord doth valiantly; for we got not the land in pos-

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session by our own sword, neither did our own arm save us, but thy right hand, O Lord, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, did drive out the heathen. O Lord God of Hosts, who is a strong Lord like unto thee, or to thy faithfulness round about thee? for thou art a God full of compassion, and gracious, long-suffering, and plenteous in mercy and truth, because thou hast helped us and comforted us after twenty-eight years of bloody persecution and heavy oppression; all which time, every year, every day, and every hour, grew still darker and darker with us, till at last, when all hopes were gone, the Lord, the Lord God merciful and gracious, did awake as a mighty man for these poor lands, and made Britain's sky to clear once more, and overwhelmed his and our enemies with confusion. Even so arise, O Lord, and let all thy enemies be ever scattered, and let thy own people be delivered, that they may serve thee without fear.

Raise thou up the fallen tabernacle of David in these lands, that thy great name may be made known and exalted to the ends of the earth, and that all who have been sorrowful for the solemn assemblies who were desolate, may again have cause to be glad in the

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Lord, and rejoice in the God of their salvation, to whom all the issues from death doth belong; for to him, and him alone, we owe lasting praise for this remarkable deliverance. But now, alas! alas! after I had solaced myself with some of the first fruits of the happy, happy, but ill-improven Revolution, viz. in seeing the yoke of our oppressors broken, so that we might serve the Lord without fear, yet I quickly saw my expectation defeated, in that our recovery and reformation from our defections, sins, and backslidings, was not according to the pains the Lord had been at with us, nor according to our best times, in having our holy religion established on her own basis; for, when the Parliament sat down in 1689, they voted presbytery into the church, because it was most agreeable to the inclinations of the people, as is to be seen in the claim of right, and not because it was according to the word of God, and his own platform of church government, plainly set down in the New Testament. When the Assembly met the same year, instead of fixing on any thing done betwixt 1638 and 1649, they went back and fixed on an act made in the year 1592, thereby excluding part of the best times of our

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reformation. All the nation's deep defections and dreadful backslidings were all atoned for by one day's fasting and humiliation; and then there were converts enough from prelacy to presbytery. But, alas! it was not a returning to the Most High. There was no engaging to the Lord against sin and for duty, covenant ways, as was greatly expected and earnestly desired by many. There was no pursuing of criminals guilty of the blood of the Lord's people, as they deserved, and was by us earnestly expected. The pardoning and employing many of these guilty of innocent blood as elders in church judicatories: for the most part, such were employed in state and army who had been avowed enemies to the work and people of God. If there was any reparation made for losses sustained in the time of persecution, it was very partially distributed. All those who had been most exposed to the brunt of persecution were most slighted and neglected. All these things were very weighty and discouraging grievances to me; so that I was again brought to go with a pain at the heart, and a bowed down back, and knew not well what to do. I had sometimes served heartily a volunteer in the military, to suppress the

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mad attempts of the enemies to the Revolution, headed and commanded by one Graham of Claverhouse, who sought to overthrow the Revolution footing, and restore the abdicate King James. I was a hearty Revolutioner, and a great adorer of God's goodness to these lands, in sending that great man, King William, to overthrow our enemies and redeem us from slavery. Yet the aforesaid nine grievances stuck close with me, and stumbled me greatly; whereupon I had thoughts to go off the country. But alas, alas! before that project was ripe, I met with some, who otherwise were good men, but they had stated a separation from church and state, after the Revolution, because of the aforesaid nine grievances, to which they added many more. I at last was overcome with their arguments, joined with them, in the inadvertent simplicity of my heart, and being influenced with a zeal not altogether according to knowledge, I continued embarked in communion with them for some time, which laid a foundation for a train of many after trials to me; for I quickly found that I was out of the frying-pan into the heart of the fire: for, though I saw great reason for these grievances on the government side, yet, amongst

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the dissenters, I found many grievances, some of which were intolerable unto me, and are as follows.—

Their criticising upon and censuring of all others who are not exactly of their judgment in every punctilio, grievously aggravating their faults, and often fixing some, where there is none; yea, seldom sparing one another, even where they are one in judgment; their making the terms of their communion straiter than what God allows in his word. They will allow no masters of families to be of their communion who pay any taxes to the present government, making no difference betwixt this legal and the former illegal and tyrannical government. They will allow no children nor servants to be in their communion who obey their parents and masters in doing any service to those in public trust in the government. They will allow none to hear any of the present ministry, even though transiently, to be in their communion. They spend the most part of their precious time in arguing and praying against the sins and defections of the public, neglecting to watch the heart; and here, to my shame, I was greatly guilty of this, among others. We spent much of our precious time

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in framing arguments to debate with others, greatly neglecting to be distinctly acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion, and to be savingly acquainted with the inward and serious part of real godliness. They would publish a declaration, disowning the authority of the great King William, and against the validity of the present church communion; and when I earnestly besought, with much entreaty, that every article of that declaration might be reasoned, they would not allow it: upon which, I protested against it, for myself, and for all that would adhere unto me: for I thought and said, that since God, of his infinite goodness, had so wonderfully, graciously, and mercifully wrought such a great deliverance for us, and redressed so many of our former intolerable grievances, by sending in that great and famous instrument King William, that it was a despising of many valuable mercies, because we got not all we would and should have had; and that it was a reflecting dishonour on God, and on his worthy instrument, and was a sign of great ingratitude and unthankfulness in us, to refuse allegiance and obedience to King William and his government, he ruling under God, in the execution of the ancient

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law of this kingdom, for the preservation of our privileges sacred and civil; I alleging, what was wrong in the administration of our laws, either in church or state, is more through the default of some of the administrators, than either to the laws now in being, or yet to the supreme magistrate: from which I see I cannot state my sufferings upon any thing amiss, although they are still grievous; neither can I have peace to refuse obedience to the civil magistrate in all things according to the word of God. This my protesting, and refusing to join with them, enraged them exceedingly against me; and as their scourge of tongues was grievously bent against others, so now was it against myself, in a most grievous, unjust, and unreasonable manner, and very hypocritically gave it out far and near, that I was going to turn Quaker, which is what I ever hated, name and thing; for I ever looked upon the abominable Quakers to be of a religion composed of all sorts of error; and yet my former friends, the dissenters, very hypocritically and industriously spread that false report far and near: but my good and gracious God remarkably pleaded my cause against the author of that lie. And although it had

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not been so, yet, where the glory of God and the peace of my own conscience are so nearly concerned, I am to let name and all go for the sake thereof. Thus, I left that party of the dissenters who now commonly go under the name of Mr. M'Millan's people; for the Quakers, Gibb's faction, the Harlaw's faction, and episcopacy by bishops, I had never any thing to do with them in matters of religion, neither directly nor indirectly; yea, my soul abhors all their evil ways: but I lived retired by myself; all which time the Lord pitied me, and restored me to some measure of communion with himself. Praise, praise. Amen.

But, after some interval of time, two of my dear friends prevailed with me to go and be a hearer at a sacrament, where four ministers were helpers, three of which I heard to no purpose, although they were very able men in preaching the gospel. O hard heart of mine! O the strength of prejudice! Two evils ever to be much lamented by me. But O my soul, behold and wonder at the long-suffering patience of a good God, who waits that he may be gracious; for just as I was resolving to come away without any satisfaction, there came up a fourth minister, whom,

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for the honour of God and of that great day's work, I record his name, which was Mr. John Anderson, minister of the gospel at West-Calder, in West-Lothian. He preached on Rev. xxii, 14, Blessed are they that do his commandments, for they have right to the tree of life, and shall enter in through the gate into the city. He spoke from this portion of scripture as if he had been immediately sent of God to carry a message of good tidings to me, a forlorn wretch, and as if he had been sent out to seek a strayed lost sheep; and, indeed, I was the person: for he spoke with such power and demonstration of the spirit, as not only melted down my hard heart to contrition, quite removed all my prejudices, but also fully persuaded me that it was the gospel of Christ Jesus and word of eternal life which he preached. He sung and prayed in the midst of his sermon; and then proceeded wonderfully, holding forth to us our lost state, inability and unwillingness to help ourselves and keep the commandments, and also how Christ is the tree of life and true trysting-place betwixt a holy God and perishing sinners, and how that through him, and the virtue of his purchase, there is an entrance of access to the

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bosom of God's favour, heaven and eternal life.

Now, as formerly, I durst not but yield all true allegiance to the civil magistrate: so after this I durst not refuse any longer to hear the ministers of the present presbyterian establishment who preach precious Christ, our dear Redeemer, to be the way, the truth, and the life, and adorn their doctrine with a gospel-becoming conversation; and all who do not so will have much to count for, both with respect to themselves and with respect to those whole souls they have the charge of: for woe will be to the idle and idol shepherds: but great will be the reward of Christ's faithful servants, that will have it to say at the last day, Lo! here am I, and the children which thou, O Lord and righteous judge, hath given me. But that the gospel preached by the present ministry has not the wished-for success in power and life, is a charge, inferring guilt, that comes home to every person's door, people as well as ministers; yet it is to be observed, that where ministers are and have been most straight in their judgment to the received principles of the covenated Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and are

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most godly and exemplary in their lives and conversations, there the gospel has had most flourishing success. Under the ministry of some of which worthy ministers I lived many years; and though, alas! I did not profit according to the means of grace clearly dispensed in gospel ordinances, yet, as I grew in years and understanding, I was enabled, by the help of what I heard, to reflect with some comfort upon some past experiences of my life since my childhood, and also to increase more and more in the knowledge and experience of my great need and necessity of living by faith and humble dependence on a God in Christ; to derive the strength of all grace out of his mediatory fulness; to die to all sin, to die to all self, and to die to all inordinate affections to the all of time's enjoyments; and to live in him, live to him, and live for his glory, holding communion with God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, which Trinity of persons is the alone centre and sure foundation of all the safety, comfort, and consolation of every heaven-born soul: and though there was with me sad pieces of decay and intermittings of a work of grace now and then, and much to be lamented unwatchfulness and untender walking with and

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before the Lord on my part, yet he waited to be gracious to me, and pitied me, long preserving me from all overwhelming damps and downcastings of spirit, till a while before the much to be lamented death of the eminently religious, brave, and valiant William, Prince of Orange, King of Great Britain, our never to be forgotten kind and compassionate deliverer, who died, March 1702; at which time I was much borne down with great exercise of spirit, and heavy presages of approaching sorrow, but could draw no conclusion from what quarter, till the sad news of his death came; which bitter tidings to me filled me with so much grief and sorrow, that it very near broke my heart, sunk my spirit, and greatly impaired my health; and if the Lord had not comforted me from his word, I could not have borne nor stood up under that much to be lamented public and universal loss: but the Lord pitied me, and encouraged me, under my continual grief, with what is written, Ps. xcvii, 1, 2: xcix, 1: Ez. xxi, 27: Ps. xc, 1: Isaiah, xxx, 18. The Lord, by these scriptures, taught me to see, that I am not to place my trust in princes, nor in any of the children of men; that whatever piece of work the Lord has to work,

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he will not want instruments to carry it on. It is to be observed, through all ages, that the Lord carries on his work, one piece of it by one instrument, and another piece of it by another instrument, &c. We may all read our sin in our punishment; for we all sadly abused the mercy of God, who gave us such a king, and yet did not act for his glory under the verge of such a noble instrument; we were neither thankful to God, nor to our worthy king; and, therefore, the Lord justly took him away from us, an ungrateful people. The Lord of Hosts is King of Nations and King of Zion; and, therefore, though all instruments were removed, yet he would make his ark and work plead its own quarrel, to the confusion of all its opposers: truth is strong, and will overcome. O glorious and kind Omnipotence, powerfully determine my soul ever to be on truth's side, to fall and stand therewith! The death of this great man, and worthy protector of the protestant interest, sent me many errands to the Lord and the throne of his grace, lamentingly to bewail our loss, and that he would sanctify the dispensation to all of the protestant persuasion; and that he would defend and preserve his own work, and raise up carpenters

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to hew the horns of the beast; which request the Lord, in some measure, answered, in the successful conduct of the great Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy. March 1708, when the Pretender came with the French fleet to land in Scotland, whom Admiral Byng pursued, this caused great thought of heart to me for a short time; but the Lord comforted me with, and sent quick deliverance, by fulfilling for us what is recorded, Ps. xlix, 19, When the enemy cometh in as an overflowing flood, the Spirit of the Lord will lift up a standard against them.

Thus, from the time I left the dissenters, I wrestled through all the reign of great King William and Queen Anne, enjoying the gospel, clearly and faithfully preached by several worthy ministers, to the great edification and comfort of my soul, meditating frequently on the scriptures, and repeating weekly the Shorter Catechism to myself, all which I found much sweetness and satisfaction in; and now and then meditated on the following subjects, viz.—How much delight and satisfaction soever I take in the enjoyment of friends and relations, so much, and sometimes more, sorrow and grief shall the

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parting with them occasion to me, unless I use them with much self-denial and kindly submission to the disposing will of God. No creature can move any way of themselves to my satisfaction or dissatisfaction, neither can they smile or frown upon me, hurt me, or do me good, but as a wise God sees fit to order it. Success in sin is of all things most dangerous; therefore, it is a great mercy when the Lord continues to be a reprover. To be left of God, to consult with flesh and blood, and follow the counsels of a corrupt heart and perverse spirit, is a great sign of wrath. Discovered wants is a great mercy when sanctified. Discovered wants is not given for a ground of quarrelling and irritation, to run away from the Lord, but to humble the soul, under a sense of its wretchedness and inability to help itself, and to make it run to the Lord, and wait patiently and diligently about his hand for suitable supply to all its wants, and be still to know that he is God. I find it a great difficulty to get Christ, the fair Plant of Renown, loved entirely for himself, but rather for his benefits. Yet, O praise, praise to him, for I find him sometimes now and then causing me to ascend from a sense of my need to a sense of his

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mercy, and from a sense of his mercy to a sense of his redeeming love, and from a sense of his redeeming love to a vehement desire to be ever with himself; and it is for matter of lamentation to my soul that it is not always so.

Under the first covenant, Adam had his whole stock for frame and stability in his own hand; but the whole stock of the believer, under the covenant of grace, is all treasured up in Christ, the second Adam, that I may continually depend on him for all that I want. Alas! the too little resisting, but rather entertaining, the sin that so easily besets me, is the grand cause why the Lord hides his face so often from me. It is a wrong conclusion for a serious soul to think, because all atheism, unbelief, and hypocrisy is not taken away, therefore there is none of it taken away; for there is a bitter root of corruption remaining in the best to their dying day, that they may be ever humbled in themselves, and prize free grace: it is very needful that the believer live always in the believing apprehension, that Christ, the Father's equal, stands always at his right hand, in the name and nature of all the elect, presenting himself in their room, that they may be made

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partakers of his purchased redemption, that it may be effectually applied to them. Hypocrites may have great enlargements from the common operations of the spirit, Matt. xiii, 20; but they are like land-floods coming down, filling dry pits even to an overflowing: yet, when the heat of the sun comes, they are dried up and emptied, because they want a spring beneath the ground: but when the Lord comes to dwell in the soul by his spirit, according to his word, then it moves like a spring arising from an internal and supernatural cause, which, though it may run slower and faster at some times than others, and flow higher and ebb lower at some times than others, yet it is still a well of living water, springing up into eternal life, John iv, 10. This is a humbling consideration. Christ, who is the believers all in all, by virtue of that union which is betwixt him and them, he, as their head, doth communicate suitable supplies of all grace to them, John, i, 16: xiv, 19: Eph. iv, 15, 16, 21. And thus, in respect of him, they shall be made more than conquerors, even kings and priests to God, Rev. i, 6; though, in respect of themselves, and because of the number and power of their enemies, they shall scarcely be saved, 1 Pet.

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iv, 18. The Lord doth make all his own people pass under the rod into the bosom of the well-ordered covenant, Ez. xx, 37. The rod of many outward trials and afflictions, immediately from himself, and mediately by instruments, and the rod of many sore soul-exercises, because of desertion, and because of many sore trials and temptations, arising from indwelling corruptions and heart-plagues. The Lord's people are the third part whom he makes to pass through the fire, and be purified as silver, and tried as gold, they calling on his name, and he hearing them, Zech. xiii, 9.

I am ever narrowly to inquire, and be firmly persuaded, concerning all creature vanity, and how one grain of its comfort cannot accompany me beyond a grave: wherefore I am ever humbly to fix upon an all-sufficient God, through the Son, by the Spirit, resting entirely on him, and him alone: to whom be all glory for ever. It is God's unchangeable all-sufficiency, through the blood of the Lamb, effectually applied to my soul by the Holy Spirit, which is my only foundation and hope of glory. It is a goodly heritage, and a place of sweet and kindly entertainment, to get in unto the secret places of the

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Most High, and be sheltered in the chambers of his divine attributes! God is infinite, and hath made the soul, and constituted the mind, for himself: therefore, he is the only adequate object of a spiritualized mind; for there is no created thing can fill and satisfy the heart of man and woman. There is still something further that it would be at; and, therefore, the uncreated and all-sufficient God is the only satisfying centre of the soul's true happiness. God is without cause, and above all causes and their effects, disposing every thing to his own glory, even the wicked for the day of evil, Prov. xvi, 4. O my soul, cry out with admiration and adoration, O a Godhead, O a Godhead, O a Godhead! one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one in three, and three in one! which awful, and yet captivating, consideration leads me to cry out, O how sweetly and gladsomely did innocent Adam sail in the ocean of communion with his God in the ark of the covenant, Do, and live! But man, though then most happy, yet, being fallible, and weak as stubble, and that covenant not durable, having no cautioner, the man, upon the very first assault of the enemy of his happiness, sprang a leak in his barge, and,

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by transgression, rent the ark of his safety and felicity to pieces; upon which, he and all his posterity sank into the ocean of their Lord Creator's justly-deserved wrath and indignation, and would have remained so for ever, if they had been left to their own shiftless endeavours of do and live, he having from thenceforward sinned, and sunk himself and them, not only utterly unable to repair the breach, but also under the fatal necessity of sinning; the only evil of all evils, and cursed womb from whence all other evils proceed.

But, O my soul, behold and adore, behold and wonder, and behold and admire, how that sovereign grace laid, in the deep designs of everlasting love and infinite wisdom, a plan of redemption-work, now brought to light in scripture revelation, that, from everlasting, the Trinity of persons, one God over all, blessed for ever, to whom all things are known from the beginning! for, seeing man's misery afar off, out of the mysterious depth of his kind compassionate concern for perishing man, from everlasting made seasonable, and every way well-adapted provision, that Adam, and a certain selected number of his seed, out of all nations, tongues,

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kindreds, families, and languages, should, of his gracious and superabounding goodness, according to his eternal merciful resolves, and unfrustrable designs of his unchangeable love, be recovered from sinking in sin and wrath's miseries, and be wonderfully restored to a far better condition, and established upon infinitely better, surer, and safer footing, in that the Lord God, merciful and gracious, threw open the two-leaved gates of mercy and redeeming love, and translated them from a covenant of works to a covenant of freest and sovereign grace, according as was stipulated, enacted, and unalterably agreed on from everlasting, betwixt God the Father, and God the Son, his equal, that the Son should substitute and instate himself in the room of all these selected and elected ones, to be their Lord Saviour, Lord Ransomer, and Lord Redeemer, by bringing in an everlasting righteousness, to redeem them from sin and wrath, and all the curses of a broken law, to be joint heirs of grace with him here, and of glory with him in heaven for ever! And, immediately upon the back of the first transgression, he was revealed as such, in paradise, to Adam and Eve, and so down through all ages, to all nations, people,

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tongues, kindreds, and languages, where any of these chosen ones were scattered here and there, he saying unto their souls, by a day of his power, You, by seeking out many inventions, have destroyed yourselves; but I am become your salvation, for the right of redemption is mine; and, therefore, I will be your God, and you shall be my people: at which time their souls followed hard after him, his right hand sustaining them. And then, when the fulness of time, according as was agreed upon in the mysterious and kind counsels of the Most Sacred Trinity from everlasting, was come, he willingly sprang forth from the warm bosom of his kind Father, and the bright shinings of the Trinity, into the womb of a poor virgin, where he was miraculously conceived; and thereby became bone of the believer's bone, and flesh of the believer's flesh, yet without sin, though made under the law.

Thus he became real man as well as real God, (equally concerned in both,) that he might be in a capacity to fulfil a broken law, and give his life a ransom for his people, whom he, since the fall, saved by promise before his coming, as well as those that should believe in him after his crucifixion; and he

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having, for their sakes, lain the full time in the dark and obscure vault of the Virgin's womb, sprang forth from thence, and for their sakes waded through a sea of troubles, trials, and temptations, for many years, that he might remove the curse, sanctify and sweeten a lot of tribulation to his own people; and then he, for their sakes, sprang up on a cross, and died a painful, shameful, and cursed death for them; at which time he shed floods of purifying blood, mixed with rivers of redeeming love, to ward off floods of wrath, mixed with rivers of fire and brimstone, from them, which they justly deserved to have weltered in through all eternity. Here it was that he bled plentiful streams of redeeming love for their justification, access to, and acceptance through him, to a God of mercy, on a throne of freest grace, that they might be trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified. Here it was that he bled plentiful streams of redeeming love, that they might be sanctified, and assimilated to his likeness, watered every moment, and purged more and more, to bear fruit unto holiness; but what shall I say, for here it was that he bled rivers of redeeming love at all the veins of his holy

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heart and members of his blessed body, that he might purchase for himself a people zealous of good works, and that he might ensure for them all the rich, sweet, and everlasting blessings of the new covenant; which covenant he now sealed with his precious blood of infinite meritorious virtue; and then crying with a loud voice, which reached the ears of God the Father, with a sweet-smelling and satisfying savour for them, It is finished; and then, for their sakes, yielded up the ghost, that they might never taste of the second death, but inherit eternal life; and then, for their sakes, he sprang from a cross to a grave, that he might sanctify and sweeten it to them, and leave them a sure pledge of a joyful resurrection, by his rising again, and victoriously carrying away the doors, bars, and gates of death and the grave, that there might be no impediment in their way, when the blessed dawning of their resurrection springs forth; and from thence he sprang back again to the right hand of glorious excellent majesty, from whence he carries on and manages all the concerns of his church and people in this lower world, by his word and spirit, through and by what means and instruments he thinks proper to make use

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of in the conduct of his unerring providence, trysting exactly his sons and daughters to be there where the word is to be spoke, preached, prayed, read, or providence wrought, whereby he is to convey himself into their souls in a saving manner; at which time, by a day of his power, he sweetly leads them away captive, in the exercise of that obedience, which is by faith in him, the virtue of his sufferings, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension, and embarks them in that new ark, and well-ordered covenant of freest grace, founded in his own blood, and cemented and pathed with his unchangeable and redeeming love; and though they may be tried and exercised with many dark clouds on their souls, and heavy afflictions on their bodies, names, and other worldly concerns, for the punishment of their sins, and for other sovereign, holy, and wise ends, yet they are for ever henceforward unutterably safe as to their state, because his loving kindness he will never take away from them, but make them sail on Grace's sweetest ocean, in that new ark of sure safety which is established in sovereign mercy, they now and then holding communion with their God in their dear Redeemer, till their warfare be accom-

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plished; and then they shall be translated to where they shall hold uninterrupted communion with him at the fountain-head, in the golden and pearly streets of the New Jerusalem.

This dear and glorious Redeemer is the all of this well-ordered covenant! he is party contractor with the Father at the infinitely wise contrivance of it! he is the purchaser of it for his sons and daughters, to be an ark of safety and felicity to them for ever! he is the unchangeable stability of it, so that it can never cease to be an ark of safety to his own! he is the beautiful ornament of it, so that his own can never weary to sail therein! he is the rich furniture of it, so that there is nothing wanting that is really desirable! he is the replenisher of it, by embarking all his chosen children within the verge thereof! and he is the skilful pilot of it, who will still, maugre all opposition, pursue his course, until he consummate all in Glory's endless, bottomless, brimless confines! O my soul, here's rivers of love springing forth from a sure decree of election! O my soul, here's rivers of redeeming love springing forth from an incarnate Lord and Saviour! O my soul, here's rivers of redeeming love springing

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forth from a suffering, crucified, but now highly exalted, Lord and Saviour! O my soul, bow down with all holy reverence, adore, and admire the glorious fountain, and kind compassionate contrivance, of this river of redeeming love! and, O my soul, lift up and stretch forth, by an active and lively faith, and humble believing application unto, and heartily embrace this dear Redeemer, and his dear-bought river of redeeming love, and delight in nothing else but to drink thereof, and swim and bathe therein, for ever! And, O my soul! stand still by this grace's glorious fountain, and, with all believing application, wonder, and admiration, beholding this river of redeeming love, how it hath been, from everlasting, and from the ancient days of heaven, arising and springing forth from the kind and compassionate heart of God the Father, through the pierced, bleeding, kind, and compassionate heart of God the Son; and is, in due time, sweetly, powerfully, and irresistibly conveyed into the soul, for whom it is appointed, and in whose favours it was purchased, by the influencing agency of God the Holy Spirit! at which instant, grace's well of living water, springing up into eternal life, is broach-

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ed in the soul, and all the forts and strongholds thereof taken in; and the old man, day by day, more and more crucified in all its sinful inordinances, and the new man renewed, day by day, till they be brought to a full stature in Christ, their dear Redeemer. O my soul! behold, wonder, and admire, and ever welcome and embrace the kind offers of this river of redeeming love; and know, and be persuaded, that it is a favour and privilege beyond what heaven or earth else can produce, to be favoured with, and made partakers of, free and sovereign grace's method of saving sinners, in a way wherein all the persons of the glorious Trinity are graciously and compassionately concerned, each one after their manner, in a way and method whereby the elect vessel is made the object of free grace, and the subject of free grace; and, from the first moment of their believing, and henceforward and for evermore, will rejoice in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that they were chosen, redeemed, and prepared to be free grace's debtors for evermore! And to this one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one in three, and three in one, be all glory, glory, glory! Amen.

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Now, O most incomprehensible, eternal, and unchangeable, all-sufficient God, the Lord God of the spirits of all flesh, since, from everlasting, there have been boundless rivers of electing and redeeming love in store with thee, O God, for some of fallen man's posterity, out of all kindreds, people, tongues, nations, and languages,—grant, O Father of mercies! that an abundance of that love, and everlasting good will, may spring forth from thy infinite, kind, and compassionate heart, down through the wounded, bleeding, infinitely kind and compassionate heart of thy well-beloved Son, my dear Redeemer, through and by the efficacious influencing agency of thy Holy Spirit, and so work upon my heart and soul, as to keep me ever under a holy and speedy movement of grace, to ascend, by thy Spirit, up through the Son, and the warm, purifying streams of his blood, to thee, O Father, where I may enjoy union, and keep communion with thee, O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the one only living and true God! Amen.

Several miscellaneous points, that I am daily to insist on, in the examination of myself.—Am I levelling all the actions of my life to the glory of God, and the honour of

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his great name, in connection with my own salvation? Am I ever resisting sin in my heart, and bearing witness against it in my life and conversation? Am I ever searching if I be savingly convinced of my lost state and condition by nature? Am I fully and sweetly persuaded that Jesus Christ is my only proper and all-sufficient remedy? Am I ever striving in the use of all the means of grace, in order to embrace this Lord and Saviour, as he is held forth in the gospel? Am I willing to have him for my Lord and Law-giver, as well as my Lord and Saviour? Am I ever seeking to be a debtor to free grace, so as the crown of glory may be set on grace, as well as a crown of immortal life on me? Am I ever seeking to get atheism and ignorance rooted out, and saving illumination, flowing from Christ's prophetic office, implanted in my heart and soul? Am I not ever seeking to be unloaded of the guilt of sin, and delivered from the condemning power of sin, by virtue of Christ's priestly office? Am I not ever seeking to be delivered from the power and tyranny of sin, by virtue of Christ's kingly office? Am I not ever studying the spirituality of the law as a schoolmaster,

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leading me to Christ, who is the end thereof to all who believe in him? Am I not ever taking the law for a rule to square my life and conversation, as an evidence of my obedience to a God in Christ? Am I not ever thirsting after the pardon of all sin, and continually improving Christ and his satisfaction and intercession for that end? Am I not ever hating all sin, and prizing holiness at all times? Am I not greatly grieved when iniquities prevail against me? and do I run to the blood of Christ for daily washing? Am I not greatly grieved when the Lord withholds the gladsome rays of his reconciled face? Am I not ever seeking to have a present Lord with me at gospel ordinances, that he may be glorified, and my salvation promoted? Am I not studying, in the Lord's strength, ever to be a martyr for the truths of God in dissolution. Am I not ever searching the scriptures what I am to believe concerning God, and what I am to practise as a real Christian? Am I not ever seeking of the Lord for help to waylay all unbelief, and to be strong in the faith? Am I not ever seeking of the Lord to get all my doubts cleared by the light of his word and help of his spirit? Am I not ever seeking to get all my

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fears prevented, by the Lord's being a present help in the time of need to me? When I think I stand, am I not ever taking heed lest I fall, still remembering, blessed is he that feareth always? Am I not ever endeavouring to glorify the Lord as much in being in the use of the means of grace when he is hiding himself, as when he is, in some measure, present? Am I not striving to take the beam out of mine own eye, rather than censure others for their faults? Am I not ever hating and keeping at a distance from the vicious practice and sinful ways of the wicked, but pitying and loving their persons? Am I not ever exercising a holy indignation against myself for all my sinful miscarriages, and a holy jealousy over myself for all times to come? Am I not ever seeking to be brought out and from under a covenant of works, and to be brought to and established in grace's freest and well-ordered covenant? Am I not ever preparing for death, judgment, and eternity, and impressing myself with the remembrance, that I must give an exact account of all my thoughts, words, and actions? Am I not seeking ever to have my mind sanctified and brought to my lot? Am I not ever seeking that I may be helped of

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the Lord, to comply in all things with his commanding will, and ever sweetly submitting to his dispesing will? Am I not ever acknowledging the Lord in the whole of my ways? Am I not ever setting the Lord before me, and living under the awful impressions of him? Am I not ever seeking that the cause of the Lord's people, and the condition of his work and interest, may ever lie near my heart, with a serious sympathizing concern?

O Lord, enable me, by grace, conscientiously to examine myself impartially anent all these foresaid points, and in every other thing, wherein thy glory and my true interest and concern may lie; and ever draw me with the sweet and kind cords of thy infinite love, up through the warm streams of the meritorious blood of the Lamb of God; and for thy rich mercy's sake, hand in and seal unto my soul the full and free pardon of all my scarlet and crimson-coloured sins, and breathe peace alongst therewith, saying unto me, Because I live, thou shalt live also. O for much of that peace which passeth all understanding! O cherish, warm, and refresh my soul with the comforting influences of grace, saying unto my soul, Eat, O friend,

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drink, yea drink abundantly, O beloved; and thereby ever cause my soul echo back again unto thee, O Lord, my beloved is mine, and I am his! O King of Saints, ever appear to be good and gracious unto all thy people, far and near, through the world! O Lord, accommodate thyself unto all the circumstances of their case, spiritual and temporal! And O King of Zion, evermore appear for thy work and interest, to defend and protect the same from all her enemies, and keep from all errors, extremes, sins, and defections of whatsoever kind! O magnify thy wisdom, power, grace, and goodness, in granting all these things; and to thee, O Lord, the only living and true God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be glory for ever! Amen.

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APPENDIX.

SOME ACCOUNT OF JOHN NISBET OF HARDHILL.

JOHN NISBET of Hardhill, in Loudon parish, Ayrshire, was lineally descended from Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill, one of those who, in the latter end of the 15th century, were styled the Lollards of Kyle. He spent his youth in military service on the Continent; but returning at the recal of Charles, he swore the covenants at Scoone, where he was at the coronation of that prince, but afterwards joined the Protestors, and appears shortly after to have left the army and settled in Hardhill. He was a man of a very decided character, and was united to Margaret Law, a woman who proved herself a true yoke-fellow in the day of trial. He incurred the displeasure of the Episcopalian incumbent in 1664, by getting one of his children baptized by an ejected minister, and in consequence partook largely of the miseries of the times. He joined in renew-

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ing the covenant at Lanark 1666, and was left, severely wounded, in the field among the dead at the battle of Rullion Green. Recovering, however, he returned home; but was not allowed to remain long in quiet; and being driven from his dwelling, he distinguished himself at Drumclog and Bothwell, and became so conspicuous among the wanderers, that a reward of three thousand merks was offered for his apprehension. Lieutenant Nisbet, a cousin of his own, surprised him, and three others, upon a Sabbath. His companions were killed upon the spot, but he was preserved for the sake of the reward.

He was carried first to Ayr, and then to Edinburgh, where he was examined before the privy-council, and finally sent to the gibbet. He behaved with much consistent firmness, both during his confinement and at his trial; and he met death with Christian fortitude, exemplifying, in his last moments, the power of that faith which overcometh the world.—"My soul," said he, as he came upon the scaffold, "doth magnify the Lord. I have longed these sixteen years to seal the precious cause and interest of precious Christ with my blood, who hath answered and

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granted my request, and has left me no more to do but to come here and pour out my last prayer, sing forth my best praises of him, in time, on this sweet and desirable scaffold, mount that ladder, and then I shall get home to my Father's house, see, enjoy, serve, and sing forth the praises of my glorious Redeemer for ever, world without end." As he proceeded the drums beat; and, with difficulty, he was heard exhorting the spectators to make use of Christ as a hiding-place from the dreadful storm of God's wrath, which would undoubtedly overtake these covenanted lands for their perfidy and apostacy. When he had finished, he sung the first six verses of the 34th Psalm; and closed his scene of suffering with a song of praise. He left three sons,—Hugh, James, (the writer of these memoirs,) and Alexander.

EXTRACTS FROM MEDITATIONS, ENTITLED "EBENEZER IN A FURNACE," &c.

1.—*On God answering prayer by fearful things in judgment.*

WHEN the case is so that the Lord answers me by terrible things in righteousness, then

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I am to examine well whether ever the Lord hath been to me the hearer of prayer anent the one thing needful; and, if so, from thence I am to take my encouragment to go forward in the Lord's strength, making mention of his righteousness only. But if my case be so, because of present confusion, that I am ready to think all was delusion that ever I met with heretofore, then, now, even now, I am to set to afresh and anew, as though I had never done it before, that he may be to me the hearer and also the speedy answerer of prayer, in all things wherein he may be glorified and my salvation promoted.

Whether the Lord really answer my prayer, or answer me with silence, or with terrible things in righteousness, yet still my duty is to stir up myself and persevere in crying to him, by fervent prayer and supplication, that he may bring me nearer and nearer to himself, by the blood of his covenant, and make me taste and feel, by faith, that all what he has revealed of himself in scripture to be to and for his people, the same he may be to me also; particularly, that he is made of God unto me wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; and that he would

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ever give me much of his holy spirit, to make me, who am wicked, holy; me, who am carnal, spiritual; to make me, who am earthly, heavenly; who am foolish, wise; who am proud, humble; to make me, who am filthy, pure; who am miserable, happy; who am all darkness, all light in the Lord; and to make me, who am a lump of sin, and a mass of defilement, the righteousness of God in Christ: he changing my whole corrupt nature, and making me conformable to his divine nature, till the full time come, that he change my vile body, and fashion it like unto his glorious body, Phil. iii, 21.

When the case is so that the Lord seems to answer me by terrible things, then I should remember well, that very often, upon the back of kind entertainments and rich manifestations, the Lord is pleased to feast his people with; that he leaves them to grapple with new trials, and withdraws himself from them, that they may be tried in their improvement of former enjoyments, and that they may learn to know that their standing is not in themselves, neither is it the stock of former experiences that will bear them up under new trials; but they will be made to know every now and then, some-

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times one way and sometimes another, sometimes by inward wants, and sometimes by outward wants, and sometimes by both at once, that it is their dear Lord and Saviour, who must be their all and in all; and that whether he be absent or present, yet he is still earnest on their behalf, negotiating all their affairs with the Father, and concerning himself with all their concernments; and, likewise, I am to remember well, that such is his sovereign wisdom, and various ways of working, that many times he will not appear for their relief, till they be brought to the last pinch of extremity; yea, such is his sovereign wisdom, and various ways of working, that he sometimes frames and adapts his first appearances for their relief in a way that they least expected, and in a way wherein they will be so far left as to mistake him, as to suppose him to be some spirit come to sink them in the great depths, and swallow them up in the floods: and, yet, O behold and wonder! for, at his own time, he will cause his sweet and lovely voice to be heard, saying to them, Be not afraid; it is I, who am coming trampling upon the waves of your afflictions, to save and deliver you. Thus, many times he answers the prayers of

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his people, when all their hopes and expectations are lost and gone. All which is clear from Mark vi, 35–52, compared with John vi, 5–22.

When I am under such amazing dispensations of providence, in being answered of the Lord by terrible things in righteousness, then all my sins should be carefully searched for, and humbly mourned over, both in particular and in the whole lump; and that not once or twice, but often, yea, very often; and all the while of the search, I am carefully to view the shed blood of Christ, and ever flee thereunto, for washing, and for a full and free remission of all sin, remembered and forgotten, known and unknown, Psalms v, to the end, Zech. xii, 10: John xix, 34. And the spirit of grace, carefully, earnestly, and constantly sought after to be at work in me, in his saving illuminations, to discover to me my heart evils, my life evils, and my lip evils; and also to discover to me my only and alone remedy, the Lord Jesus Christ; and help me to seek after him to be the advancer of my sanctification, to such a measure and degree, as will prove my remission of all his reconciliation to God, and peace with him, and access to

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the throne of his grace, and acceptance to be heard and answered of God in Christ, of all and every thing, wherein he may be glorified, and my holiness and happiness carried on to a final consummation in glory.

When the Lord seems to be answering me by terrible things, it will be said that pity should be shown to those that are afflicted; yet, remember this, O my soul! that my greatest comfort lies in this, that he who obliges his people to this duty is himself the great sympathizer, even the merciful as well as faithful High Priest, who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and who, having the government upon his shoulders, doth wisely order his providential kingdom, for the advancement of his spiritual kingdom and the welfare of his people, who may thereupon say of their afflictions, as Paul did of his, Phil. i, 19, I know that this shall turn to my salvation; for experience proves it, beyond contradiction, that the children of God hath found great treasures of grace and comfort under the cross. It was the crime of Job's friends that they thought him to be miserable because of his sufferings, and could not reconcile these with the divine favours towards him; whereas God hath declared,

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that many are the afflictions of the righteous, and that, through much tribulation, they must enter into the kingdom of God, and with their sanctified trials and crosses he hath connected blessedness and complacential kindness, Ps. xciv, 12: Heb. xii, 6, 7, 8.—God had one child without sin, but never any without suffering. O sovereign wisdom! Therefore, none may be uneasy that they are going to heaven, in the Lord's good time, in the same road wherein the Lord Jesus Christ hath gone before them, and led them the way by the cross to the crown. The God-man was a man of sorrows, acquainted with griefs, and made perfect by sufferings; and blessed are all they that know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, Phil. iii, 10.

2.—*How to check Unbelief and Fainting.*

Consider that our infinitely holy and merciful God, in his infinite wisdom, hath in Christ, his dear Son, reconciled his infinite justice and infinite love, so that his love is now his reigning attribute, and is exercised as such to all who are helped through grace to flee to him for refuge, be their lot in the world what it will:

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1 John iv, 16: Micah vii, 18, 19: John xvi, 33; that desertions and afflictions are very consistent with a state of grace, they being an article of grace's well-ordered covenant, which is sure in all things to the child of God in Christ, who is unchangeable in all his merciful resolves and everlasting purposes of his infinite love, the blessings of which article of the covenant are great, many, and sweet, to all those who are suitably exercised under the cross, Ps. lxxxix, 31–35: Heb. xii, 11: Rom. viii, 2, 8. Though I be surrounded with a convocation of afflictions, yet here lies my safety and comfort, that all the shining attributes and glorious perfections of God in our dear Redeemer, are engaged for my preservation in and deliverance from this furnace, though hot seven times, Isaiah, xliii, 2: xli, 10: Psalms xxiii, 4: cxliv, 15: Jer. xvii, 12: xxxii, 17, 27. The most shocking afflictions that can befal me are but pieces of Time's misery, and streams of Marah's bitter waters, that all the Lord's noble cloud of witnesses have wade in and drank of before me, Heb. xi, xii. In the midst of all my afflictions, I would still remember there remains a rest for the Lord's peo-

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ple, Heb. iv, 9: Rev. xxi, 4. Of which rest none of his own can possibly come short, because it is their covenanted inheritance, purchased by their elder brother, who is ransomer, that was found to save them from going down to the pit, Job xxxiii, 24. O then that I could at all times exercise a holy jealousy over myself, lest I come short! 1 Cor. ix, 27. And O that I could be ever turning to him, my strong hold, Zech. ix, 11, 12, who brings his people out of sin's pit, out of wrath's pit, and out of the pit of all tribulations; I always resting and relying on him by faith, patience, and experience, till he translate me to be ever with himself. The thrice and forever lovely Lord Jesus Christ, our dear Redeemer, merciful and faithful High Priest, who was touched with the feeling of all our infirmities, sin excepted, cannot choose but be a cordial friend and hearty sympathizer with me, so as in his own good time and way restore comfort to me, in being a sure ground of hope, and cup of strong consolation to me, in the midst of all my afflictions, Heb. iv, 14–17: Isaiah lxiii, 8, 9. The Lord hath been graciously pleased to suit his people's suffering circumstances, and repeated trials, with many sweet and

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suitable precious promises, for faith, patience, and experience, to rest and feed on at all times, especially in the hour of temptation. As the priests' feet that bore the ark of God, Joshua iv, 10–11, stood firm in the midst of Jordan, until all the children of Israel, strong and weak, were clean passed over, so our merciful and faithful High Priest, Christ Jesus, the glorious antitype of these priests and that ark, stands in the midst of Death's Jordan, until he waft all his sons and daughters safe over to glory's enjoyment in the New Jerusalem. O Lord help me to that comprehensive and extensive duty of a constant reliance on thee for strength, frame, and furniture! O how sweet is it! and how rich are the incomes, when helped to follow the Lord fully! O strong omnipotence, what canst thou not do for weak and impotent me! O free mercy, how suitable a remedy art thou for my misery! O redeeming love, how kindly doth thy sweet and silken cords draw! draw me evermore! O sovereign grace, what are thy stretches which thou hast made for the relief of perishing sinners! O stretch and extend thyself out for evermore to me, till thou waft me over to glory's ocean! Amen.

THE END.

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No. II.

LETTER ON THE GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN STOIC SILENCE AND CHRISTIAN COMPOSURE, BY JAMES NISBET.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your's, wherein you complain heavily of the affliction of your children; and, indeed, it is no wonder, for where there is not a stoic-like silence under afflictions, they will occasion many thoughts of heart; and the more so, because, though we see chastisements in the rod, yet we are such ill scholars at the school of the cross, that it is seldom we learn our lesson to become more righteous, Isa. xxvi, 9. But, O that, instead of turning desperately impatient like that man, 2 Kings, vi, 33, or senselessly silent with Epictetus, Seneca, and others, but rather to learn of Christ to be meek and lowly, for his yoke is easy, and his burden is light, that in him we may get the sanctified use of all our trials, and also find rest to our souls, Matt. ii, 29, 30, Rom. viii, 28, Heb. xii, 11, 12, 13; and in and from him obtain an increase of grace to prize and improve all his mercies and judgments, his rods and reliefs, his crosses and comforts, so

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as that we may neither, on the one hand, sport at his mercies,—nor yet, on the other hand, spurn at his rods; so that we may neither abuse enlargements, nor despise chastisements, but that we may give both their proper place and room in our hearts, to glorify the Lord in both, so as to fear, love, and obey a correcting as well as a comforting God; for he, in his infinite wisdom, has wisely ordered the lot of his own people so in this world, as, having mercies in view, they may not despair, and, having judgments in view, that they may not presume, but be suitably humbled under rods, and sweetly encouraged under the receipt of mercies, from whence they have occasion to say, "Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints!" Therefore, dear sir, my humble advice to you and myself is, that while the Lord is dealing with us upon trust, and affording us continual matter of exercise on all hands, O let this be our chief and principal work, to view and improve the Lord Jesus Christ much by faith, in all the uses and ends for which he was sent, and for which he came to stand in the room of elect sinners, and act and work for them, and in them, in order to complete

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and consummate their redemption! He is a wise Saviour, and skilful Physician,—O let us ever resort to him, to be healed by him! He is a kind and compassionate Redeemer,—O let us ever resort to him, that we may be saved to the utmost by him! O let us still encourage ourselves in him, and at all times argue from our sin and misery, and the sins and miseries of our's, to his all-sufficient grace, to be holy, and mercy to be happy; and let us at all times cry to him for faith, patience, watchfulness, and resignation, that by these graces we may be enabled to trace wisely every footstep of our way through this dark and thorny wilderness, while we are in this state of probation! This is what equally concerns us all; and to exercise a holy indignation at ourselves for our shortcoming, and a holy jealousy over ourselves, lest we come further short to our unspeakable loss, but rather still to be going up through the wilderness, leaning on our beloved, and leaning the whole stress and weight of all our concerns on him, both in things temporal, spiritual, and eternal. And, howbeit Satan may take advantage of our melancholy circumstances to aggravate our misery, and to tempt us to draw harsh con-

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clusions of God's method with us, yet it is our great wisdom and duty to resist and not hearken to him, but do as Hezekiah did with Senacherib's blasphemous letter; he answered not a word, but spread it out before the Lord; which thing is our duty also, to make all our requests known to God by prayer and supplication, until he finish our course with joy, and be translated over to the blessed land, where glory dwelleth, and where the wicked cease from troubling the just, and where the weary are at rest from all tribulation, joining in their note of everlasting hallelujahs with those that are about the throne of God and the Lamb.

ORIGINAL LETTER OF JAMES RENWICK.

(*Vide p.* 196, *et seq.*)

This Letter has appeared before; but the following is a correct copy, printed from the Martyr's own Autograph, belonging to Mr. WILLIAM ROXBURGH, Ochiltree. It was procured by JOHN HOWIE of Lochgoin, from the LOUDON Family; and, after his death, came into Mr. ROXBURGH's possession.

RIGHT HONOURABLE & DEAR SIR,

I HAVE been thinking much long for ane opportunitie of writeing unto you; but I

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hope your goodnesse will not draw any wrong constructions from my necessitate delay; for (blest be the only holy and wise Lord) I am made to rejoyce in him thereanent, and have been kept, by his grace, from murmuring & quarrelling against him; because I saw so much of himself, and of his holy and wise purposes, yea, even toward me, in the circumstances I stand in, in every step, since my departure from your honour: for, being kept some days at the vessell, where I was, in some measure, exercised to know what might be the language thereof, which I could not know till afterward, we lanched forth into the sea, where we were tost for some days, with a violent contrarie winde, and driven within uptaking of ye coast of France, before that we could get the English coast taken up, and all with very great hazard, for the vessell was both little, and not at all firm, which occasioned our setting in to ane harbour in England, called Ry, where we went ashore, and were much noticed by ye Tyrant's waiters, it being upon the back of the discoverie of their plot; yet the Lord so restrained them, that we were not challenged. However, we thought it not fit (fearing snares) to stay ashore, and therefor

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went aboard again: but, after some days, the sd waiters in shore, passing by, came aboard of us, and askt very ruddlie the skipper where we were; who replyed that we were aboard. And then asking what men we were, was answered by the skipper, that he knew not: which I, overhearing, thought that his answer would make these said waiters more inquisitive. However, the Lord so restrained them, that, when they came unto us, they had no power to challenge us. Now, all this time, we still concluded that we were reallie apprehended, seeing no probabilitie of shunning it: but, blest be the Lord, it was no way terrifying unto me; for, notwithstanding of his other speciall assistance, I saw so much of his hand in it, (we being driven 7 leagues back into that place,) that I could not quarell, but was much refresned with that word, It is the Lord: let him do what seemeth him good. Then, after this, the skipper did what he could to ensnare us on the Sabbath-day; but the Lord so struck him with his own hand, that he was not able to go forth to give any information of us: and, in the Monday morning, the Lord sent a fair winde, which was embraced, and so brought us safe away, far beyond our expec-

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tation. O, all this should warn us to credite him with his own cause, and with our case! and may let us see, that enemies, further than is permitted, shall not prevaill. Then, after this, woning forward unto Dubline, from whence there was no way of departing without a passe, but desiring to wait the Lord's time, and to commit our case unto him, he wonderfullie provided ane occasion for our friend George; but in no ways they would condescend to take me with them, which was a peice of exercise unto me to know what might be the language of it: yet, in the time, I could not see it fullie; but afterward was made to see that the Lord had some peice of work to do their. O, blest be his name! for he set some upon a search of their ways, and to know that they had not been right, who were affected with my departure from them, (when the Lord had wonderfullie provided ane occasion, whereby I was cast out in the night time, at a hill side, some few miles below Greenock,) that they, entreating me with tears to stay, saying that their necessitie was greater then Scotland's necessitie, would not part with me, untill that, upon some suppositions, I promised to return again. But, as the Lord stirred up some people to all this,

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their (so called) ministers encreased their malice, especially one Mr. Jack, the ring leader of the rest, who sought to speak with me, which I would not, nor could not, without stumbling of the people, refuse; who, when met, we reasoned upon severall heads, particularlie this, Whether or not a person attached for dutie might choise a punishment? whereof I held the negative. But, in a second conference, he (having some of his companions trysted w^t^ him) fell on more brisklie, and askt, How came I to draw away his congregation, and to preach to them without his call, and satisfying him anent mine ordination? To which I replyed, That I denyed him to have a congregation, and did only labour and desire to draw the people from sin unto their dutie: and for accepting his call to preach, that I ought not, nor would not, because I could not own him as a faithfull minister of Jesus Christ, for he had betrayed the cause of the Lord: and for satisfying him anent mine ordination, I told, When I met with faithfull ministers of Christ, I should subject my self to them; but him I declined as competent to require that of me: and also, that I behoved first to be satisfyed anent his entrie to that

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congregation, the exercise of his ministrie during his continuance therein, and now his yeilding it up at enemies their command: all which was to be reconciled with the word of God, our engadgments, and the dutie of a minister. Which when he heard, he grew mightie passionate, falling out in bitter reflections; and I, perceiving the dishonour done to God thereby, told him that I would speak no more to such men in such a frame, and so departed. I had also some battells upon your account, but the Lord assisted in that as in all other things; for I saw it was not you, but the cause and partie which they reviled. O, honourable and dear sir, what shall I say to all these things? It is good keeping the Lord's way, for he will not leave nor forsake. Now, since I came to mine own land and people, I have seen severall things which are encouraging and promising, as the Lord's helping some, of whom little was expected, to show both zeal and stedfastnesse in his cause: and other things that speaks out wrath to be at the doors, as the neutralitie and lukewarmnesse, yea, declining of many, who have been helped to be hitherto valiant. O, blessed be the Lord, who will not give his glorie to another, and

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blasts everry thing that our eyes are upon!

As for news. The Lord is wonderfullie to be seen in every thing, and assists in what he calls unto; for, in coming thorow the countrey, we had two field meetings, which made me think, that if the Lord could be tyed to any place, it is to ye mosses and muires of Scotland. O he will have a day of his power to be seen in this land! I say, he is to be seen in hideing, preserving and provideing for his people in such a day of the enemies their crueltie; and seems to have some strange thing upon the wheels, especiallie in your honour's dear brother's case, which we desire to wait upon and behold; for enemies their crueltie and threatenings against him are great, and their snares and subtilties no lesse. However, they are wonderfullie restrained, and he strangely reproached, but very causlesslie. And as for Robert Lawson, (O sad and sweet in severall respects!) he is suffered to cast all his former doings, to the hardening of backsliders, and the grief of the godlie. But Edward Aitken he is escaped, and intends to come to you, and follow his book; but his carriage in the publick matters hath been very hurt-

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some to the cause, and, in private very unchristian, opening mouths to reproach & blasphem. Therefor, I hope ye will not move in it without the Church of Scotland's advice. Also I expect that Tho. Lining will be sent unto you, and I hope ye will be satisfied with him; for he hath been very satisfying, refreshing, and encouraging to me since I came home. Likeways, according to your direction, I challenged Mistress Binning upon her intimacie with your sister; but she says there is noe ground for it, and I think not such as your honour apprehends. As also I challenged her upon the commendation she gave Jo. Willsone, in her letter unto you; but she says that she had not then seen his testimonie, and was sorrie that when she saw it, that it was so contrarie both to her thoughts and commendation of him.

We are in some confusion now, through the want of time, and upon other accounts. However, as occasion offers, I will labour to get a full information of every thing sent unto you; for I am sensible of the advantage that it will be unto the Lord's cause. Now, the Lord be with your honour, making you a brazen wall, and ane iron pillar, ag^{t} all

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enemies and forsakers of his truth, as hitherto (by his grace) he hath done, and point out your dutie to you in every case, helping you to follow it. Write to friends; for your letter was very refreshing, rejoycing, & strengthening unto them, and to him who looks upon you as his master, his father, and brother; and remains your honour's assured friend, sympathizer, and servant in ye Lord,

JAMES RENWICK.

Sept. 1683.

THE END.

James Auchie, Printer, Lady Stair's Close.

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